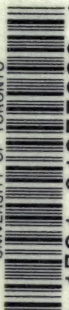


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Kurrelmeyer, Herman

The historical develop-
ment of the forms of the
future tense in Middle
High German

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THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
FORMS OF THE FUTURE TENSE
IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
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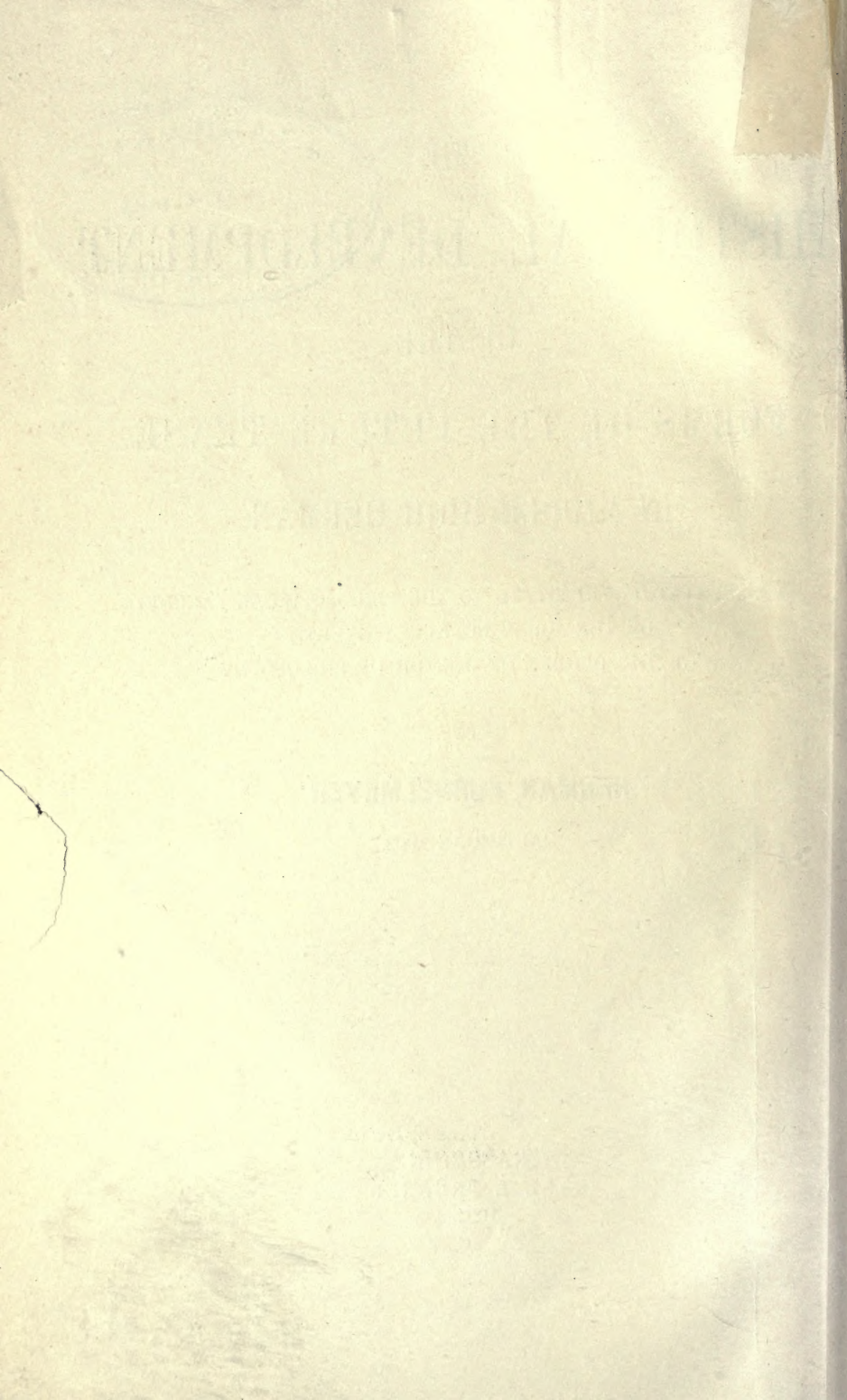
BY

HERMAN KURRELMAYER.

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THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMS
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INTRODUCTION.

The scope of this study is to trace the manner in which the idea of futurity was expressed in Middle High German. The Old High German period has been treated in a dissertation by E. C. Hinsdale, entitled: „Ueber die Wiedergabe des lateinischen Futurums bei den althochdeutschen Übersetzern des 8.—10 Jahrhunderts“, Göttingen 1897. This thesis however, owing to its narrow scope and the paucity of the results arrived at, hardly touches the larger aspects of the problem.

Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* IV², 176 seq. discusses the forms of the future. According to him, German has no special form for this tense, and therefore either leaves it unexpressed, that is, uses another tense for it, or periphrases it. In the oldest period the *present tense* was employed, a usage which according to Grimm continues through Middle High German into New High German. The *present tense* is also the regular form in Gothic.

Of the periphrases, *sollen + infinitive* is the oldest, occurring sporadically in Gothic, more frequently in Old High German, and still more so in the Heliand. In Middle High German it is „ganz geläufig“.

Wollen + infinitive is not used to express futurity in Gothic, but is found with this function in Otfrid, more frequently in Middle High German.

According to Grimm, the form *werden + infinitive* is unknown in Middle High German, a few instances excepted. It becomes prominent only when the construction with *sollen + infinitive* dies out. Grimm makes the observation at this point, p. 182, that possibly the *present passive* construction had something to do with the rise of the form *werden + infinitive*. If, as Haupt main-

tained, the *werden* + *infinitive* construction came from the form *werden* + *present participle*, then the participial construction ought to be found before the other could occur.

Paul, Mhd. Gram. Halle 1894, § 277 says: „Für das Fut. braucht man zuweilen die Umschreibung mit ich soll und dem Inf., noch nicht wie im Nhd. ich werde“. Also § 297, Note: „Seit der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts kommt werden mit dem Inf. auf, aber nicht wie im Nhd. zum Ausdruck des Fut., sondern zur Bezeichnung des Eintritts einer Handlung, darum auch häufig im Prät.: so werdent sie trinken, er wart weinen“.

Weinhold, Mhd. Gram. Paderborn 1883, § 429, believes the *werden* + *infinitive* form to be derived from *werden* + *present participle*, where the participle has lost the „d“ of its ending, and thus become identical in form with the infinitive. This idea is developed still further in § 435. *Wollen* + *infinitive*, he says in § 434, is not common till the 15—16 century. *Müezen* + *infinitive* is not so frequent as *sollen* + *infinitive*.

Erdmann, Deutsche Syntax, Stuttgart 1886, gives what probably is the best and shortest statement of the conditions in Old and Middle High German. The sections are § 141 seq.

First he states that the *present tense* is the regular form in Old and Middle High German, and that it is also common in New High German.

In the discussion of the periphrases, Erdmann remarks that *sollen* + *infinitive* occurs in Gothic, is slightly more frequent in Old High German, where it has still a trace of its first meaning of duty. In Middle High German it is still more common.

Müezen is then mentioned, but nothing is said as to its comparative frequency. With regard to the use of *wollen*, Erdmann traces the development as follows: „Im Ahd. vermischte sich mit dieser Bedeutung (den bewußten Willen) öfters schon der Gedanke, daß das Gewollte auch verwirklicht werden wird.“

Werden + *present participle*, according to Erdmann, occurs but once in Old High German, Tatian 6, 9 *nu wirdist thu swi-*

genti — *eris tacens*. E. C. Hinsdale has found another instance, also in Tatian, translating the *futurum exactum*: 42, 31 *thie min furlougnit fora mannum inti min scamenti wirdit* — *confusus me fuerit*. Erdmann claims that it does not occur very frequently in Middle High German, being displaced by *werden* + *infinitive*.

Werden + *infinitive*, he says, is Upper German and is entirely unknown to the „niederdeutsche Sprachen“. He derives the form not from the construction *werden* + *present participle*, but from the inchoative meaning of *werden*. In support of this view he cites Orendel 1.561 „*du bist dich ruomen*“, and says that „*du wirst dich ruomen*“ could mean „*du wirst fähig dich zu rühmen*“.

In the present treatise, besides the forms mentioned by Erdmann, Grimm, Weinhold and Paul, the constructions *werden* + *adjective or noun* and *werden* + *perfect participle* form separate categories, for the reason that they, by their frequency, possibly gave *werden* the force of a quasi-future auxiliary, thus aiding the rise of *werden* + *infinitive*. There occur also a great number of instances of these constructions, which from their form might just as well be *werden* + *infinitive* as *werden* + *adjective or perfect participle*.

The persons of the verbs are kept separate because by so doing we get a glimpse of the manner in which the auxiliaries came to be used in these constructions.

I. THE DIALECTS.

1 a. Middle German.

(Exclusive of Middle and Lower Rhine.)

The earliest text examined was Williram (ed. Seemüller, Q. u. F. 28), of the eleventh century. In the translation we find 22 instances, in the gloss, or explanation of the Latin, 81 instances. The usage in the two sections is not the same. In the text we find:

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Pres. I 50 ⁰ / ₀ | II 9 ⁰ / ₀ | III 18 ⁰ / ₀ | Total 77 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 9 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 9 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 14 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 14 ⁰ / ₀ |

In the gloss the usage is:

| | | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 11 ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 22 ⁰ / ₀ | Total 35 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 3 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | III 15 ⁰ / ₀ | 18 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 22 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 1 ⁰ / ₀ | 23 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 9 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

Possibly Williram followed the older translators with regard to the Latin text, but in the interpretation of this text used those forms which seemed most suitable to him.

18, 2 and 3, *Faciemus wir machen*. Gloss. *Nu vernim welihe halsziederde ic unte mine doctores dir wollen machen*. 24, 1 Gloss. *So ich decheina wila geruowet bin a persecutione, so wil ic desde mer sceinan*. 48, 3 *Surgam, queram nu wil ih ufsten, unte wil in suoehen*. 7, 1 *exultabimur wir sprungezen unte freuen unsih*.

Zs. f. d. A. 8, 267 contains some fragments of Middle German gospels, probably of the twelfth century. But 3 instances are found, 1 each of *present tense* II, *sollen + infinitive* III, and *werden + adjective*.

In „Zukunft nach dem Tode“ and „St. Paulus“ (Kraus, Deutsche Gedichte des 12. Jahrhunderts, Halle, 1882) there are 7 instances

Pres. I $28\frac{4}{7}\%$

Sollen + inf. III $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

Werden + adj. $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

Werden + perf. part. $42\frac{6}{7}\%$

Roth's Predigten (Quedlinburg, 1839), of the twelfth or thirteenth century, contain 31 instances.

Pres. I $3\frac{1}{3}\%$ II 16% III $19\frac{1}{3}\%$ Total $38\frac{2}{3}\%$

Sollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{3}\%$ II $3\frac{1}{3}\%$ $6\frac{2}{3}\%$

Wollen + inf. I $9\frac{2}{3}\%$ III $9\frac{2}{3}\%$ $19\frac{1}{3}\%$

Werden + adj. $6\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + perf. part. 26%

Werden + pres. part. $3\frac{1}{3}\%$

38, 9 *dabo* — *ic gib in*. 34, 7 *reficiam* — *ich wil iwer arbeit semften*. 25, 15 *also schullen wir ouch irsten*. 40, 15 *so wirt der stumme sprechent*. 74, 19 *procedent* — *die erbarmude unt diu warheit sculn vorgeen*. 34, 8 *iwer arbeit die unser herre geminneren wil*, referring to „*reficiam*“, in the preceding line.

Z. f. d. A. 20, 217 contains a fragment of a sermon of the thirteenth century, whose original presumably dates from the twelfth century. This view would seem to be confirmed, by the comparative rarity of *sollen* + *infinitive*. There are 33 instances of the future tense, divided as follows:

Pres. I 15% III 39% 54%

Sollen + inf. I 3% II 3% III 6% 12%

Wollen + inf. I 6% 6%

Werden + adj. 15%

Werden + perf. part. 12%

243, 26 *wie das sule werden, das wisit er uns*; 244, 20 *seit ir erstanden, so sult ir smecken*; 235, 22 *wan ouch diu cit churz ist, so lazen wir ir vil und wellen einiz sagen*.

In a Middle German „Magnificat“ (Germ. 20, 3) of the twelfth century (the manuscript is of the thirteenth) we find 6 instances: 2 each of *present* III and *sollen* + *inf.* III, each of *wollen* + *inf.* III and *werden* + *perf. part.*

The only instance deserving particular mention is I. 131, corresponding to „saturabuntur“, *die hungerigen die der rechtikeit gern, die wil got maniges guotes gewern.*

With this text we may close the first period of the development in Middle German. In the texts examined so far, 183 instances have occurred, as follows:

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Pres. I 15 $\frac{1}{3}$ 0/0 | II 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | III 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | 42 $\frac{1}{3}$ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | II 6 $\frac{1}{7}$ 0/0 | III 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | 17 $\frac{6}{7}$ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | | III 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | 11 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 12 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 16 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 3 $\frac{3}{7}$ 0/0 | | | |

From this it appears:

1. That *wollen* + *infinitive* retained much of its primary meaning of intention or purpose, for it is used chiefly in the first person. The instances in the third person may to a large extent be explained as due to oratio obliqua.

2. That the *present tense* was the form most frequently used to express the future, comprising 42 $\frac{1}{3}$ 0/0 of the total number.

The Thuringian sermons of the thirteenth century, printed in Germ. 19, 305 show only 4 instances, but all of them are *sollen* + *infinitive*, 1 in the first person, 3 in the third. In fact *sollen* + *infinitive* goes beyond the idea of duty and of futurity and arrives at that of intention.

B. III 1, 21 *in den stunden so gesassen die diebe un solten den Schoz teile.*

Germ. 17, 340 and Zs. d. Phil. 15, 202 contain some thirteenth century sermons which originally probably formed one volume. They contain 78 instances and show the characteristic frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive*.

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| Pres. I 10 0/0 | II 4 0/0 | III 18 0/0 | 32 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | II 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | III 41 0/0 | 55 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ 0/0 | | | 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 3 $\frac{6}{7}$ 0/0 | | | |

Germ. 17, p. 349 *also sal ich dich slahen unt villen;*
348 *salt du iz nicht rechin so ne wil ich dir dechein ere gespre-*

chin; 344 accipiet — *sol inphahin*, pariet — *sol ein sun gewinnen*; 340 *weme lezist du uns? die armin schaf sullen die wolce vil schiere bestaen*.

Zs. f. d. Phil. 15 p. 265 faciet — *sal tun*; circumdabit — *sal umbevahen*; 268 confitebitur — *ich sprach daz ich bejehen sal min unreht. Merket daz er quit daz er bejehen wil sin unreht*. Here *sollen* + *infinitive* seems to be exactly equivalent to *wollen* + *infinitive*, for the two phrases are the same except that the one is oratio recta, the other oratio obliqua.

In the Hohenfurter Benedictinerregel, Zs. f. d. A. 16, 224, of the thirteenth century, we find 38 instances.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|--------|------------------------------------|
| | Pres. II | 10 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III | 21 0/0 | 31 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. | 10 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | II | 3 0/0 | III | 8 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. | I | 5 0/0 | | | 5 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | | 16 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | | 26 0/0 | | | |

Prol. 25 docebo — *ich wil uch lere*; 67 similabo — *dem wil ich glichen*; VI, 1 custodiam — *ich sal behuoten*; VII, 10 retribuēs — *also salt du vorgelden*; VII, 40 confitebitur — *suln dir begehin*; II, 13 *der abbet sol sich immer gehuge daz von siner lere oder der jungirin gehorsam beidir sache rede wirt gebin*. A scribe of a later period might very easily insert „*er*“, so that the sentence would read „*daz er beidir sache rede wirt gebin*“.

The Trier Psalter (Graff, Quedlinburg 1839, Schmeller, Zs. f. d. A. 8, 120), also of the thirteenth century, contains 757 instances, as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 1 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | II | 1 ⁹ / ₁₀ 0/0 | III | 11 ¹ / ₆ 0/0 | 14 ² / ₅ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. | I | 25 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | II | 5 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III | 42 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Wollen = inf. | I | 8 ¹ / ₅ 0/0 | | | | 8 ¹ / ₅ 0/0 |
| Werden = adj. | | 1 ⁷ / ₁₀ 0/0 | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | | 3 0/0 | | | | |

Ps. 37, 19 cogitabo — *ich sal denken*; 38, 2 custodiam — *ich wil behuden*; 85, 12 confitebor — *ich wil beiehen*; 64, 9 delectabis — *du solt gelusten*; 67, 10 segregabis — *du solt gesundern*.

Whether the use of *wollen* + *infinitive*, as for instance 85, 12 and 90, 14, is due to the translator's endeavor to get variety, or not, is not altogether clear.

Leyser in his „Predigten“ (Quedlinburg 1839), publishes sermons dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In those of the thirteenth century 24 instances occur, distributed as follows:

Pres. I $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ III 25% $41\frac{2}{3}\%$

Wollen + inf. III 4% 4%

Werden + adj. 29%

Werden + perf. part. $16\frac{2}{3}\%$

Werden + pres. part. 8%

10, 6 *Ez ist groziu ere dem chnechte sinem herren zi volgen, wan er mit im reichssende wirt*; 14, 23 *Got wil mit im sin gericht haben*.

In the fourteenth century portion there are 163 instances. These agree more closely with the usage in the texts so far examined, than those of the thirteenth century portion. We find also 4 instances of *werden* + *infinitive*.

Pres. I $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ II 3% III 14% $23\frac{1}{2}\%$

Sollen + inf. I 13% II $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ III 32% $48\frac{1}{2}\%$

Wollen + inf. I $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ III 1% $15\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + inf. $2\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + adj. 8%

Werden + perf. part. $4\frac{1}{3}\%$

Werden + pres. part. 2%

40, 20 *an der andern zukumft so wirt er kumen*; 131, 13 *so er kumen wirt zu gerihte*; 31, 15 *sacrificabo — ich sol dir opphern*; 75, 22 *dabo — ich wil dirs geben*; 75, 27 *ich sol dirs geben*; 25, 8 *conciplies — du solt enphaken*; 128, 18 *so wirt danne daz er sprechende wirt*.

Zs. f. d. A. 22, 236 contains a sermon, probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Only 7 instances occur, 4 of *sollen* + *infinitive* III, 3 of *present* III.

The rime Bibles in Zs. f. d. Phil. 9, 428, which are of the fourteenth century, contain 4 instances, 1 each of *present* I and *sollen* + *infinitive* III, 2 of *sollen* + *infinitive* I.

Volume I of Schönbach's *Predigten* (Graz, 1866), a collection of sermons of the fourteenth century, probably by one man, furnishes us with 431 instances of the future tense.

| | | | |
|--|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ | II 4% | III 28% | $38\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ | II 4% | III $20\frac{1}{2}\%$ | 31% |
| Wollen + inf. I $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | III $\frac{1}{4}\%$ | $6\frac{3}{4}\%$ |
| Werden + inf. $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 9% | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $13\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 1% | | | |

6, 10 *die wirt noch mer hungern*; 148, 2 *wie freislich er cumen wirt*; 13, 24 *respiciam — ich sol si sehen*; 242, 33 *reficiam — ich wil si erquicken*; 27, 32 *vivet — er sol leben*; 13, 9 *wiset wie ir wil wesen gegen dich*.

In „*Sprüche und Verse Deutscher Mystiker*“ (Germ. 18, 195), of the fourteenth century, there are but 4 instances, 2 of *werden + adjective*, 1 each of *sollen + infinitive* I and *sollen + infinitive* III.

Brun von Schönebeck (Lit. Ver. Stuttg. vol. 198) contains 365 instances. The usage, with the exception of *wollen + infinitive*, agrees with that of the other texts.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I 16% | II $1\frac{2}{3}\%$ | III 10% | $27\frac{2}{3}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 5% | II 6% | III 31% | 42% |
| Wollen + inf. I 17% | II $\frac{1}{3}\%$ | III 1% | $18\frac{1}{3}\%$ |
| Werden + inf. $1\frac{1}{3}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + adj. $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 4% | | | |

l. 944 *so sal ich manich wort suzen und irluchten*; 624 *surgam et circuibo — ich wil ufsten*; 716 *surgam — ufsten ich und loufe al umme*; 926 *amaritabit — das sal irbitteren*. Cf. also l. 1702 *so wurden si nimmer trinken*, 7724 *sus wurden si sprechen*.

In this text *sol* rimes with *vol* or *wol* 10 times. Even if we assume that the use of *sol* in these 10 cases was due to exigencies of rime, *sollen + infinitive* III would still be represented by 28% .

In Meister Eckhardt *Zs. f. d. A.* 15, 373, also of the fourteenth century, 45 instances occur.

| | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|------------|
| Pres. I 2 0/0 | III 6 1/2 0/0 | 8 1/2 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 0/0 | III 51 0/0 | 53 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 11 0/0 | III 6 1/2 0/0 | 17 1/2 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 11 0/0 | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 9 0/0 | | |

1, 3 *suscitabo* — *ich irwecken die gerechten wozelin davidis und die frucht sal wiz sin und sal finden urteil und machen gerechtikeit*. XIV, 2 *wer do blibit in mir der brenget* XIV, 4 *der sal groze frucht brengen*. XVI, 8 *der inwirdet anderis nummer genzliche din wesen*.

The last example is one of those showing how the *werden* + *infinitive* form may be simulated by the *werden* + *adjective* form.

The Trebnitz Psalter (ed. Pietsch, Breslau 1881) shows the highwater mark of the form *sollen* + *infinitive*. Of 1104 instances, 90 0/0 are *sollen* + *infinitive*.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| Pres. I 1 0/0 | II 1 1/2 0/0 | III 3 1/2 0/0 | 5 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 28 1/2 0/0 | II 10 0/0 | III 52 0/0 | 90 1/2 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 1 1/10 0/0 | | | 1 1/10 0/0 |
| Werden + inf. 1 1/5 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + adj. 1 1/10 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 4 0/0 | | | |

Ps. 113, 25 *laudabunt* — *si werdent loben*; 88, 24 *concidam* — *ich sal vellen*; 118, 25 *convertam* — *wil ich keren*; 20, 2 *exultabit* — *sal vrouwen*.

As already remarked, *sollen* + *infinitive* in this text attains its greatest frequency. It does not, however maintain itself at this height very long. With the Trebnitz Psalter another period in the development of the future tense forms in Middle German may be brought to a close. We have seen *sollen* + *infinitive* gradually increase in frequency till finally all the other forms were overshadowed. But at the end of this same century the conditions are reversed, *sollen* + *infinitive* is gradually supplanted by other forms, whose career will now be traced.

Matthias von Beheim's Evangelienbuch, of the year 1343 (ed. R. Bechstein) shows 1004 instances.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|----------------|------------|
| Pres. I 10 0/0 | II 5 0/0 | III 26 0/0 | 41 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 3 0/0 | II 7 0/0 | III 22 1/2 0/0 | 32 1/2 0/0 |

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|----|-----------|-----------|
| Wollen + inf. I | 2 0/0 | II | 1 1/3 0/0 | 2 1/3 0/0 |
| Werden + inf. | 2 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + adj. | 11 7/10 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 10 2/3 0/0 | | | |

We here for the first time see the construction with *werden* + *infinitive* becoming more prominent. While it comprises only 2 0/0 of the total, the number of instances is considerable: 21.

John 14, 16 *rogabo* — *ich sal bitten*; 14, 18 *relinquam et veniam* — *ich sal lazen, ich sal kumen*; Matt. 8, 7 *veniam* — *ich wil kumen*; 13, 14 *audietis* — *ir sult horen*; 23, 34 *occiditis* — *ir werdet toten*.

In Zs. f. d. A. 36, 233 there are portions of an „Evangelienharmonie“ of the fourteenth century. It is related to Beheim's version, but apparently has gone through the hands of an Alemannic scribe. To make the comparison with Beheim clearer, the figures for the corresponding sections are here juxtaposed. There are 27 instances altogether.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|----|-------|-----|--------|--------|
| Beheim Pres. I | 0 0/0 | II | 3 0/0 | III | 13 0/0 | 16 0/0 |
| Zs. f. d. A. | 3 0/0 | | 3 0/0 | | 6 0/0 | 12 0/0 |
| Beheim Sollen + inf. I | 13 0/0 | II | 8 0/0 | III | 54 0/0 | 75 0/0 |
| Zs. f. d. A. | 11 0/0 | | 8 0/0 | | 62 0/0 | 81 0/0 |
| Beheim Werden + inf. | 6 0/0 | | | | | |
| Zs. f. d. A. | 0 0/0 | | | | | |
| Beheim Werden + perf. part. | 3 0/0 | | | | | |
| Zs. f. d. A. | 0 0/0 | | | | | |
| Beheim Werden + pres. part. | 0 0/0 | | | | | |
| Zs. f. d. A. | 8 0/0 | | | | | |

It will be seen that in the use of *sollen* + *infinitive* and the *present tense* there is no great variation between the two monuments. The chief difference lies in the fact that Beheim uses *werden* + *infinitive*, which is not found in the „Evangelienharmonie“, while the latter in turn uses *werden* + *present participle*, which is not found in the former.

| | | |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| John 14, 29 | <i>so es geschihet</i> | (Beh. <i>wan iz geschehen wirt</i>) |
| 16, 7 | <i>so kumet er nit</i> | (Beh. <i>sal nit kumen</i>) |
| 16, 13 | <i>so sende ich</i> | (Beh. <i>sal ich senden</i>) |

16, 13 *waz er wirt horende* (Beh. *waz er wirt horen*)

16, 13 *daz wirt er sprechende* (Beh. *daz sal er sprechen*)

In view of these differences it is likely that both are descended from the same source, neither one being a copy of the other.

In Zs. f. d. A. 22, 78 is found a Middle German Apocalypse, of the fourteenth century. *Sollen* + *infinitive*, it will be noticed, is here gradually decreasing. There are 42 instances.

Pres. I + 48 0/0 III 16¹/₂ 0/0 64¹/₂ 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 0 0/0 III 14¹/₂ 0/0 14¹/₂ 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 12 0/0 12 0/0

Werden + inf. 5 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 5 0/0

II, 7 *dabo* — *dem wil ich geben*; II, 16 *veniam et pugnabo* — *ich schiere kume und wil fechten*; II, 10 *habebitis* — *ir werdet haben*; II, 10 *passurus es* — *die du leiden wirst*; V, 10 *regnabunt* — *sullen herschen*.

Walther in his „Deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters“, Braunschweig 1889—1892, gives a number of selections from the various translations there discussed. These are put in groups, and furnish considerable material for our purpose. When any „group“ or „psalter“ is mentioned, therefore, it refers to Walther's classification, and to those selections contained in his work, not to the entire text in question.

Breslau Ms. D 26, of the year 1340, the so-called „Ninth Psalter“, contains 33 instances, *present* I—6, *present* II—2, *present* III—16, *werden* + *adjective* 9.

The „Fourteenth Psalter“ (cod. pal. vindob. 2756), also of the fourteenth century, has 17 instances, of which but 1 is *sollen* + *infinitive* III, the remainder *present* I.

Breslau I. Q. 237 has 12 instances, *present* III—1, *sollen* + *infinitive* I—5, II—1, III—5.

Leipzig Msc 34, the „Twentieth Psalter“, dated 1335, contains 26 instances.

Pres. I 0 0/0 II 4 0/0 III 34²/₃ 0/0 38²/₃ 0/0

Sollen + inf. 0 0/0 II 8 0/0 III 30⁴/₅ 0/0 38⁴/₅ 0/0

Werden + inf. 15²/₅ 0/0

Werden + adj. 4 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 4 0/0

In the „Nineteenth Psalter“, Dresden Msc 287, dated 1387, there are 18 instances. Only 1 however, is *sollen* + *infinitive* III, the others being *present tense* I—5, II—1, III—11.

The „Second Group“ contains two Middle German manuscripts, Weimar fol. 3—8 and Cod. pal. vindob. 2759. In the former, dating from the end of the fourteenth century, we find 30 instances.

Pres. I 0 0/0 II 6 2/3 0/0 III 16 2/3 0/0 23 1/3 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 13 1/3 0/0 13 1/3 0/0

Werden + inf. 50 0/0

Werden + adj. 10 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 3 1/3 0/0

This is the first of the Middle German texts to show a preponderance of *werden* + *infinitive*.

The other manuscript is still more noteworthy in this respect. It contains 66 instances in the extracts given by Walther.

Pres. I 0 0/0 II 3 0/0 III 12 0/0 15 0/0

• Wollen + inf. I 3 0/0 3 0/0

Werden + inf. 65 0/0

Werden + adj. 4 1/2 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 12 0/0

Werden + pres. part. 1 1/2 0/0

The „Sixteenth Psalter“, Stuttgart M. Bibl. 13, of the same century, has 7 instances, of which 6 are *present* III, 1 *werden* + *adjective*.

The „Seventh Psalter“, Rein 264, of the end of the fourteenth century, has 12 instances: *present* III—5, *werden* + *infinitive*—1, *werden* + *adjective*—1, *werden* + *present participle*—5.

Cod. pal. vindob. 2813, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains a variety of forms within a small compass. Only 6 instances occur: *present* III—2, *sollen* + *infinitive* III—1, *wollen* + *infinitive* I—1, *werden* + *infinitive*—2.

Zs. f. d. A. 9, 264 contains Middle German gospels of the end of the fourteenth century. Here we find 143 instances.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Pres. I 6% | II 12% | III 39% | 57% |
| Sollen + inf. I 0% | II $\frac{7}{10}$ % | III $5\frac{1}{2}$ % | $6\frac{1}{5}$ % |
| Wollen + inf. I $1\frac{1}{2}$ % | | | $1\frac{1}{2}$ % |
| Werden + adj. $11\frac{1}{5}$ % | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 23% | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $\frac{7}{10}$ % | | | |

Matt. 21, 1 interrogabo — *ich wil fragen*, dicam — *ich sage*; 24, 7 videbitis — *ir sollet sehen*; 1, 23 habebit — *sal haben*.

Germ. 18, 96 contains a Thuringian sermon and legend of the beginning of the fifteenth century. In each we find 4 instances, but in the sermon they are all *sollen + infinitive* III, while in the legend they are *present tense* III. It is possible that the sermon preserved the older form with *sollen*, just as the language of sermons at the present day often contains forms otherwise obsolete.

This text may be considered as closing another period of development, which although short, is very instructive. At its beginning *sollen + infinitive* seemed to be the usual way of expressing the future. Apparently the dialect was approaching a condition similar to that in Modern Dutch, where *zullen + infinitive* is the regular form. At the end of the century however *sollen + infinitive* was as a rule displaced by other periphrases of the future, or by the *present tense*. It is at this period that *werden + infinitive* becomes prominent.

This latter condition of affairs is seen in the „Codex Teplensis“, of the beginning of the fifteenth century. It contains 1161 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--------|-----|-----|
| Pres. I 14% | II 11% | 41% | 66% |
| Werden + adj. $10\frac{1}{2}$ % | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $\frac{1}{3}$ % | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $16\frac{2}{5}$ % | | | |
| Werden + inf. 3% | | | |

Matt. I, 23 habebit — *wir habent*; Mark X, 21 habebis — *wirst haben*; I, 8 baptizabit — *wirt taufen*; XII, 25 erunt decedentes — *werdent fallen*; Luke V, 10 eris capiens — *wirstu fahen*; hodie eris — *wirst du sein*; XIX, 40 clamabunt — *werdent rufent*.

In these examples we see a confusion of *werden* + *infinitive* and *werden* + *present participle*. For instance, 2 present participles of the Latin are translated by *werden* + *infinitive* and 2 future tenses by *werden* + *present participle*. This may be due to a confusion in the scribe's mind, of the forms of the infinitive and present participle.

Germ. 10, 311 contains a „Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen“. Two manuscripts exist. The later, B, is from Upper Hessa and is dated 1428. A, the earlier version, from Thuringia, is perhaps a century older than B and contains 29 instances.

| | | | |
|----------------------|--|-----|--|
| Pres. I | 14 ⁰ / ₀ | | 14 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I | 3 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III | 20 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I | 17 ⁰ / ₀ | | 17 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. | 27 ³ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 17 ⁰ / ₀ | | |

The other and longer form, B, (that is A, plus additions) has 37 instances.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|--|-----|--|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 11 ⁰ / ₀ | III | 3 ⁰ / ₀ | 14 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I | 3 ⁰ / ₀ | III | 16 ⁰ / ₀ | 19 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I | 13 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | 13 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | |
| Werden + inf. | 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. | 24 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 21 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

The chief difference between the two texts is that B uses *werden* + *infinitive* 3 times. Since these 3 instances occur furthermore in those parts of B which have no counterpart in A, we may assume that they represent the usage of the person who in the first quarter of the fifteenth century expanded A into B. In other words, *werden* + *infinitive* was at this time accepted in Upper Hessa as a regular representative of the future tense.

1. 221 B *wan jene werden do hyne gan*; 1. 249 B *biss dass wir gesehen ob ymand zu der wirtschafft werde gan*; 1. 304 B *der brudegom wordt uns holen*.

In the „Oswaltprosa“, Germ. 20 and 21, of the fifteenth century, 40 instances are to be found.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|--------|------------|
| Pres. I 10 0/0 | 2 0/0 | 10 0/0 | 22 1/2 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 45 0/0 | | 5 0/0 | 50 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 7 1/2 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + inf 7 1/2 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 12 1/2 0/0 | | | |

XXI, 176, 32 *des sele wirt grosse gnade haben*; 186, 26 *er wird uns ertrenchen*; 184, 18 *wenne mir bass wird*; so *wil ich wider kommen*.

Germ. 12, 228 contains some Middle German songs. Only 3 instances occur: 1 each of *werden* + *infinitive*, *wollen* + *infinitive* I and *werden* + *adjective*.

Berlin fol. 67, the „Thirteenth Group“, of the year 1465, shows the form *werden* + *infinitive* to a degree which we might almost characterize as modern. There are 11 instances, of which 41 1/2 0/0 are *werden* + *infinitive*. The figures are as follows:

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| Pres. I 2 1/2 0/0 | II 11 1/2 0/0 | III 24 1/3 0/0 | 38 1/3 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 0/0 | II 1 2/3 0/0 | III 0 0/0 | 1 2/3 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 3 1/2 0/0 | | | 3 1/2 0/0 |
| Werden + inf. 41 1/2 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + adj. 8 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 7 0/0 | | | |

The „Twenty-first Group“, Melk E 86, of about the same date, contains 25 instances.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|--------|
| Pres. I 12 0/0 | II 4 0/0 | III 8 0/0 | 24 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 0/0 | II 4 0/0 | III 20 0/0 | 24 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 4 0/0 | | | 4 0/0 |
| Werden + inf. 40 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + adj. 8 0/0 | | | |

With this text we may close the discussion of Middle German. In this dialect the development was approximately the following. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the future was rendered chiefly by the *present tense*. *Sollen* + *infinitive* was also used, chiefly in the first and third persons, rarely in the second. *Wollen* + *infinitive* was restricted to the first person, the instances in the third person being almost universally the result of *oratio obliqua*.

In the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, the use of *sollen* + *infinitive*, found in all persons, grew more and more common. Its culmination is seen in the Trebnitz Psalter.

In the second half of this century *sollen* + *infinitive* gradually declined in frequency, being replaced to a large extent by the *present tense*. From this time also there is a steady increase in the frequency of *werden* + *infinitive*.

1 b. Texts from the Middle and Lower Rhine.

The „Altniederdeutsche Psalmen“ (Heyne, Altniederdeutsche Denkmäler, Paderborn 1874) although not strictly belonging here, may yet be considered in this place. There is no difference in usage between the various sections, although the first ones are characterized as „sächsisch“, the latter ones as „niederfränkisch“. There are 288 instances.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------|----------|-----|
| Pres. I 0% | II 0% | III 1½% | 1½% |
| Sollen + inf. I 19% | II 4½% | III 70½% | 94% |
| Werden + perf. part. 4½% | | | |

This frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive* would point to Dutch influence.

In a collection of legends of the twelfth century, published in Zs. f. d. Phil. 10, 61, from the same region, we have a similar condition of affairs. There are 39 instances.

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------|------|
| Pres. I 0% | II 0% | III 2½% | 2½% |
| Sollen + inf. I 10% | II 25⅔% | III 54% | 89⅔% |
| Wollen + inf. I 7⅔% | | | 7⅔% |

1. 121 *se sulen wol gesien wie mine thing sulen ergan*.

In Tundalus (Kraus, Deut. Ged. des XII. Jahrh.), Middle Frankish of the twelfth or thirteenth century, we find 11 instances. Here also we find a similar usage.

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|----------|------|
| Pres. I 0% | II 9% | III 9% | 18% |
| Sollen + inf. I 18% | II 18% | III 36½% | 72½% |
| Wollen + inf. I 9% | | | 9% |

1. 213 *ich sal dir sagen alzuhant*; 217 *absorbebit — iz sal vorslinden*; 55 *nu wil ich sagen von dem man*; 102 *patieris — salt du liden, liberaberis — dise qual sal dich vermeiden*.

Zs. f. d. Phil. 14, 82 (Geistliche Prosa des XIV. Jahrhunderts) furnishes us with 11 instances. We see that a great change has come over the language in the course of the thirteenth century. *Wollen + infinitive* and *werden + infinitive* both are becoming very common.

Sollen + inf. I 9 0/0 II 0 0/0 III 18 0/0 27 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 36 0/0 36 0/0

Werden + inf. 27 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 9 0/0

p. 85 *daz myn sele dich werde niezen*; 92 *daz er got wirt erkennen*; 96 *du wirst mich sehen*.

This use of *wollen + infinitive* is carried out still further in a play, also of the Middle Rhine region, published by Mone (Schauspiele des Mittelalters, Nr. VII) as „Leben Jesu“. It is of the fourteenth century and shows 71 instances.

Pres. I 8 1/2 0/0 II 8 1/2 0/0 III 22 3/4 0/0 29 3/4 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 4 0/0 II 3 0/0 III 7 0/0 14 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 22 1/2 0/0 III 8 1/2 0/0 31 0/0

Werden + adj. 9 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 14 0/0

Werden + pres. part. 12 2/3 0/0

1. 659 *ihr werdent alle flihende*; 665 *ich sal ze galylea vor uch gan*; 48 *so bereident ir die straze daz zu uch der heilige Crist wil selber gan*; 728 *wer rache wil erwerben, der wil verderben*; 258 *ich dich diner bede wil gewern*.

Zs. f. d. A. 2, 301, an Osterspiel, also of the fourteenth century, reflects a somewhat similar usage. It contains 86 instances, distributed as follows:

Pres. I 2 1/2 0/0 II 2 1/2 0/0 III 10 1/2 0/0 15 1/2 0/0

Sollen + inf. 9 1/2 0/0 II 15 1/2 0/0 III 38 1/2 0/0 63 1/2 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 17 1/2 0/0 II 2 1/2 0/0 III 1 0/0 21 0/0

Werden + adj. 1 0/0

1. 96 *vernimet wes ig ug vragen sal*; 1. 192 *also wil ich genenden ende sol Cristum dat lamp senden*; 180 *nu wil ich dat werde kunt dat ik wille senden minen sun*; 714 *faciam — ich sal uch vugen zu anderer saggen*; 815 *ich rade ug dat ir willet volgen mich*.

In a sermon which follows the play and belongs to the same time and place, there are found 3 instances, 1 each of *sollen* + *inf.* III, *wollen* + *inf.* I and III.

In the „Twentyfourth Psalter“, Berlin fol. 249, Rhinefrankish of the year 1455, there occur 18 instances.

Pres. I $5\frac{5}{9}\%$ III $11\frac{1}{9}\%$ $16\frac{2}{3}\%$

Sollen + inf. I 0% III $5\frac{5}{9}\%$ $5\frac{5}{9}\%$

Wollen + inf. I $22\frac{2}{9}\%$ $22\frac{2}{9}\%$

Werden + inf. $55\frac{5}{9}\%$

The great frequency of *werden* + *infinitive* and of *wollen* + *infinitive* I should here be noted.

In Anna von Köln, Zs. f. d. Phil. 21, 129, of the fifteenth century, we find 21 instances. Here also *wollen* + *infinitive* is very frequent, but only in the first person.

Pres. I 5% 5%

Sollen + inf. I 29% III 24% 53%

Wollen + inf. I $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ $33\frac{1}{3}\%$

Werden + adj. 5%

Werden + perf. part. 5%

The texts of the Middle and Lower Rhine regions in their earlier representatives apparently show Dutch influences, in the great frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive*. Later on, however, the form *wollen* + *infinitive* became more prominent. To judge from the evidence of the text next to be considered, this would seem to point to Low German influences.

This work ist the Alsfelder Passionsspiel, of the end of the fifteenth century, published Zs. f. d. A. 3, 479. Alsfeld is in Hessa near the Low German border, and the language there spoken bears the traces of this proximity. It has in fact been called „eine halbniederdeutsche Mundart“. In the play there are 68 instances.

Prés. I $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ II 3% III 9% $16\frac{1}{2}\%$

Sollen + inf. I $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ II 6% III 19% $32\frac{1}{2}\%$

Wollen + inf. I 19% III 12% 31%

Werden + inf. 9%

Werden + adj. 6%

Werden + perf. part. 3%

Müezen + inf. 3%

I, 64 *darnach wirt man anfahenn*; I, 46 *das spyell das man hie begynnen well*; II, 183 *seligk synt die armen want got wel sich irbarmen*; II, 107 *myn freyde ich doch triben sal*; IV, 104, *das sollen mer besitzen ewigliche*; IV, 13 *nu wirt hie sich nehen und wirt sich rechen*.

2. Low German.

No Low German texts antedating the fifteenth century were available. From that time the material is fairly plentiful.

The earliest text examined was the „Visio Philiberti“, Niedd. Jahrb. 1879, 21. The Middle Frankish influence on this monument is so pronounced that the editor remarks that the author probably was a Low German living on the Frankish border. Altogether 16 instances are found.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------|------|
| Pres. I 6% | II 12½% | III 25% | 43½% |
| Sollen + inf. I 12½% | | III 37½% | 50% |
| Wollen + inf. I 0% | | III 6% | 6% |

1. 183 *du hast den wormen spise bereed, se scolen di vreten, goot weet*; 197 *de duvele komet drade und willen ons voren ere strade*.

Erzählungen aus dem Spiegel der Leien (Zs. f. d. Phil. 6, 434) of the year 1406, contain 10 instances, divided as follows:

| | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----|
| Sollen + inf. I 30% | III 40% | 70% |
| Wollen + inf. I 30% | | 30% |

p. 438 *he sal nu sterven unde ic mene dat wi sine siel hebben sullen*; 438 *de viant sprac ic salt doen*; 440 *ic wil oec also doen, lichte of et nu icht helpen sal*. On page 440 we have a form illustrating how forms may be used interchangeably. It is as follows: „*mer he woert ten lusten dinken und woert dinckende*“. The two seem to be exactly equivalent, and yet one is the infinitive form, the other is the participial.

In a „Geistliches Wächterlied“, Zs. f. d. Phil. 9, 191, of the first third of the fifteenth century, 3 instances occur, 1 of *wollen* + infinitive I, 2 of *werden* + adjective.

Germ. 11, 257, „Niederdeutsche Erzählungen“, of the year 1431, contains 15 instances as follows:

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Pres. I 0% | III 13 ¹ / ₂ % | 13 ¹ / ₂ % |
| Wollen + inf. I 60 % | III 6 ² / ₃ % | 66 ² / ₃ % |
| Werden + inf. 6 ² / ₃ % | | |
| Werden + adj. 6 ² / ₃ % | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 6 ² / ₃ % | | |

This instance of *werden* + *present participle*, occurring along with *werden* + *infinitive*, may be noted: p. 276, 5 *volghe mi, wa du seende werst, dat beholt*; 271, 15 *de werke de goed ghedan heft und hute don wirt*; 264, 24 *dat lat em vorstan und se wat he bi di wil dan*.

Germ. 2, 164, „Osterreime“, also of the fifteenth century, contains 10 instances. Here however the usage differs slightly from that of the texts immediately preceding.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------|------|
| Pres. I 10 % | | | 10 % |
| Sollen + inf. I 30 % | | | 30 % |
| Wollen + inf. I 10 % | II 30 % | III 10 % | 50 % |
| Werden + adj. 10 % | | | |

p. 167 *ik scal ewelken leven*; 167 *ik wet dat du van dode wilt upstan*. 165 *wente wy komen so hewel uns to spreken*.

In Germ. 17, 189, „Songs“, of the year 1447, there are 3 instances, 1 of *present* I, and 2 of *wollen* + *infinitive* I.

St. 18 *geyy mir wedder myne kappe, ich wil beczalen te ante lucis terminum / ich wil eyn ander pfant gan halen / sic firmat spes credentium*.

„Aesop“, 13, 476, of the same century, contains 6 instances of *wollen* + *infinitive* I, and 1 of *present* III.

The most interesting and instructive of all the Low German monuments is the „Münster Grammatik“, dated 1451, and published in Niedd. Jahrb. 1877. It contains 22 instances in the sections treating of the future tense, as follows:

| | | |
|--|--------|-----------------------------------|
| Sollen + inf. I 18 % | II 9 % | 27 % |
| Wollen + inf. I 31 ⁹ / ₁₀ % | | 31 ⁹ / ₁₀ % |
| Werden + pres. part. 18 ² / ₁₀ % | | |
| Werden + inf. 22 ⁷ / ₁₀ % | | |

These figures alone do not indicate the real significance of the text. That is done by the examples which the compiler

of the grammar used to enforce the meaning of Latin words and tenses.

„Legam“ he explains thus: „*ich wil edder ich schal lesen, edder alse de averlender seggen, ik werde lesen. Futurum tempus, dat heth tokamende tyt de noch kamen schal. Hodie legam huden wil ik eine lectie lesen.*“

From these examples we can see that *werden* + *infinitive* was not regarded by this schoolmaster as a Low German form.

That the first person future had a close connection with volition is shown by his next example. *Wente du beduden wilt dat du willen hefst to lesende, so sechstu legam. Men weltu beduden dat du schuldik bist to lesende, is beter gesecht debo legere. Watten men ock legam dudet ik wil lesen, unde volo legere heth ok ick wil lesen, doch so is underwylen beter gesecht volo legere, underwylen ok legam.*

He next criticizes the usage of certain individuals thus: *wan de in futurum indicativi spreken scholen, also ik wil lesen eder ik schal lesen, de enseggen nimmer legam men se seggen alle tyd volo legere edder debo legere.*

The most noteworthy passage of the grammar is perhaps the following one, p. 51, *cum legero . . . scholares dimittent . . . , wen ik lesende werde so werden vele schulre ander lectien na laten und werden myne lectie horen. si legero . . . acquiram — —. werde ik philosophie lesen, so werde ik vele schulre krigin.*

p. 52 *audient werden horende. 51 audies — so werstu horende. 51 horet to der lectien de ick morghen schal lesen.*

We have seen that the author mentions *werden* + *infinitive* but characterizes it as an Upper German form. *Werden* + *present participle* he does not refer to at all, yet he uses it almost as frequently as *werden* + *infinitive*. From this we may conclude that for him these two represent one and the same form.

In Germ. 10, 385 „Erdichtete Niederdeutsche Liebesbriefe“, of the year 1452, 27 instances are found.

| | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 4 ⁰ / ₀ | II 4 ⁰ / ₀ | 8 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 4 ⁰ / ₀ | II 4 ⁰ / ₀ | 8 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 81 ⁴ / ₅ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | 81 ⁴ / ₅ 0 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 4 ⁰ / ₀ | | |

p. 388 *so wert iu weder eyne uppe den avent; so schull gy eynen breyf van my heffen.* 386 *ummer welke sake schal ek dat an iu bevinden.*

The exceptional frequency of *wollen* + *infinitive* may be due to the character of these letters which are forged, asking for money and promising to do certain things in return.

In „Christi Auferstehung“, Mone II, 12 we have a text from the Lower Rhine, which was worked over in 1464 at Wismar. There are 108 instances.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | III $1\frac{2}{3}\%$ | $6\frac{1}{6}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 6% | II $2\frac{2}{3}\%$ | III $10\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $19\frac{1}{6}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $49\frac{2}{3}\%$ | II $2\frac{2}{3}\%$ | III $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $64\frac{5}{6}\%$ |
| Werden + inf. 1% | | | |
| Werden + adj. 4% | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 6% | | | |

l. 494 *exsurgam — ik will upstan: 510 und wilt uns ten to der ewighen salicheit; 1296 dar wilt de lude sere sterven; 725 (eris in paradiso) du scholt syn; 55 love gy dat en dot man werde leven; 524 dar erer vrowde nummer werd enden.*

The last two examples show how in the later periods of the language the *werden* + *infinitive* construction may arise. In the second example the process is not completed, for „*erer vrowde*“, apparently is genitive, a relic possibly of the time when it clearly depended on „*ende*“, the noun, while in the other example „*werde leven*“, even though felt to be descended from „*werde levend*“, nevertheless may be considered the true infinitive construction.

The „Bordesholmer Marienklage“, Zs. f. d. A. 13, 290, written before 1476, contains 24 instances.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I 4% | II 8% | III $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $24\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0% | II 8% | III $20\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $28\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $41\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | III 4% | $45\frac{2}{3}\%$ |

1. 719 *yd schal noch kommen also dat en scharp swert schal treden dorch dyne sele* = pertransibit. 793 *darnegest schal he ok to hemmen varn; 850 he warlik wil upstan, so schaltu em myt vrowden seen.*

Niedd. Jahrb. 1875, 54 contains a „Zwiegesprach zwischen dem Leben und dem Tode“, of the end of the fifteenth century. Only 4 instances occur, 2 of *sollen + infinitive* I, and 2 of *sollen + infinitive* III.

p. 54 *we dit bok wil schenden ofte stelen, deme wil ik deme duvele bevelen.*

In a Westphalian sermon of the end of the century, published Niedd. Jahrb. 1884, 44, there are 6 instances. Here, however, *sollen + infinitive* III occurs more frequently, 5 times, the remaining instance being *present* III.

p. 45 *tradetur — de . . . sal werden verraden*; 46 *edent et saturabuntur — de sollen etten unde ghesaedet werden*; 47 *de sal leren.*

Niedd. Jahrb. 1888, 6, „Erbstorfer Liederhandschrift“, has 16 instances in the songs proper.

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Pres. I 6 ⁰ / ₀ | II 19 ⁰ / ₀ | III 12 ⁰ / ₀ | 37 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 6 ⁰ / ₀ | III 12 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 19 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 12 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | III 12 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 25 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + pres. part. 6 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 12 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

Mühlenlied, st. 3 1. 8 *de am jungesten daghe wert rih-tende*; IV, 8 *eyn revercken wil ich leyden an*; XVI, 3 *conciplies — du schalt entfan*; XVI, 5 *du entfangest unde bliwest*; XV, 15 *de hilghe geyst schal an di komen*; XVI, 7 *de hilghe geyst wyl risen*; VIII, 2 *he kumpt de uns wil gheven eyn ewich leven.*

At the close of the songs there are a number of „Biblische Zeugnüsse“. Here the usage is entirely different. There are 13 instances, but of this number 10, or nearly 77⁰/₀, are *werden + infinitive*. There is only 1 instance of *wollen + infinitive* and 2 of *sollen + infinitive*, all in the third person.

1. 10 *dar wert me ok vinden*; 30 *de rechten werden loven*; 54 *juwe warcke willen wan dem heren nicht unvorloent bliven*; 46 *he schal nicht ghekronet werden.*

In „Gerhard von Minden“, ed. Leitzmann 1898, we find 54 cases.

| | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Pres. I 6 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | 6 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 9 ⁰ / ₀ | III 9 ⁰ / ₀ | 18 ⁰ / ₀ |

Wollen + inf. I 62⁰/₀ II 2⁰/₀ 64⁰/₀
 Werden + pres. part. 2⁰/₀
 Werden + adj. 9⁰/₀

6. 10 *de louwe sprak, ik delen wil*; 94, 35 *ik wil na minen vrunden draven / und wil en ene kulen graven, / vornemen sole gi enen strit, / des si sik nummer sulen vrouwen*. 101, 44 *wes fro und gemeit / min hulpe sal di sin bereit*. 110, 14 *de erst to us komende wirt*.

The last text examined was Reinke de Vos (ed Prien, Halle 1887). This translation of a Dutch original was printed in the year 1498. The Dutch version is lost, but we may compare Reinke with the Dutch *Reinaert*, which dates from the thirteenth century. Reinke contains 164 instances.

Pres. I 12¹/₂⁰/₀ II 2¹/₂⁰/₀ III 1¹/₂⁰/₀ 15¹/₂⁰/₀
 Sollen + inf. I 11¹/₄⁰/₀ II 2⁰/₀ III 12⁰/₀ 15¹/₄⁰/₀
 Wollen + inf. I 27⁰/₀ II 1⁰/₀ III 6¹/₂⁰/₀ 34¹/₂⁰/₀
 Werden + inf. 28⁰/₀
 Werden + pres. part. 1¹/₄⁰/₀
 Werden + perf. part. 2¹/₂⁰/₀
 Werden + adj. 2¹/₂⁰/₀

Introd. § 11. 5 *unde wert weder komende*; 5004 *al woren nomende wert*; 139 *ich wart dem konnynech noch vorwetten*; 147 *he wert noch etlyke schoenen*; 416 *denne wyll wy ons bespreken*; 463 *he wert ju smeken ende voreleghen*; 1426 *dat se spade wyl verwynnen*.

Reinaert in the places corresponding to the last 3 citations uses *sollen* + *infinitive*. At the following places in Reinke we finde *wollen* + *infinitive* where *Reinaert* has *sollen* + *infinitive*: 11. 2560, 3094, 3159, 3178, 3421, 3489, 3561, 3763, 4141, 4145. This list is not exhaustive.

When we note that in *Reinaert* *sollen* + *infinitive* comprises about 90⁰/₀ of the total number of instances, while *wollen* + *infinitive* amounts to less than 5⁰/₀, these changes become all the more significant and indicate how great the gap between Low German and Dutch became.

By reason of the lack of material for the earlier period of Low German, no statement can be made with regard to its

development anterior to the fifteenth century. In the Heliand the periphrasis of the future was expressed by *sollen* + *infinitive*. In the texts of the earlier portion of the fifteenth century, *sollen* was often used with the same force. At the present day one can hear in Westphalia „*Ich sal mi waren*“, expressing that the speaker will take good care not to do a certain thing. The Münster Grammatik, however, seems to emphasize *wollen* + *infinitive* more particularly, and Reinke de Vos changes *sollen* + *infinitive* into *wollen* + *infinitive* in a number of cases. This would seem to indicate that *sollen* was gradually yielding to *wollen*. In the modern dialectic literature of Low German, as in the works of Fritz Reuter, *werden* + *infinitive* is the usual form. It is rather strange that here too we find forms like *ward* (present form) + *infinitive*, for instance in the introduction to „Kapitel“ 37 of the „Reis' nah Bellingen“, we find:

„Oll Vadder Swart, de ward nah'n Rehten seihn
und dorut ward en Unglück den gescheihn.“

3. Dutch.

Dutch has been the most conservative of all the dialects examined. According to Grimm *sollen* + *infinitive* is the earliest and best of all the German periphrases of the future. This has been the regular form in Dutch from the earliest monuments to the present day.

In Maerlants's Rijmbijbel (ed. David, Brussels 1858), of the end of the thirteenth century, there are 562 instances.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------|
| Pres. I 3 0/0 | II 1 1/2 0/0 | III 1 1/2 0/0 | 6 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 25 0/0 | II 11 0/0 | III 55 0/0 | 91 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 1/3 0/0 | | | 1/3 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 1/6 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 1 3/5 0/0 | | | |

The 2 instances of *wollen* + *infinitive*, although translating the future tense in the „Speculum Historiale“, which was the basis of a great portion of this work, seem to denote intention rather than futurity. They are 1. 15843 non abscondam — *inne welle bedecken*; 3206 vadam — *ic wille varn*.

1.418 *hierna zal ic verklaren bat*; 720 *ponam — ic sal setten*; 634 *scietis — so suldi weten*; 722 *soe sal up dyn hooft treden*;

Reinaert (ed. Martin, Paderborn 1874) has two sections, Reinaert I, of the thirteenth century, and Reinaert II, of the fourteenth.

Reinaert I contains 100 instances.

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------|---------|-----|
| Pres. I 5% | II 1% | III 3% | 9% |
| Sollen + inf. I 33% | II 9% | III 46% | 88% |
| Wollen + inf. I 3% | | | 3% |

In the corresponding of Reinaert II there are but 90 instances. The usage also differs.

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------|----------|------|
| Pres. I 2% | | | 2% |
| Sollen + inf. I 35½% | II 3½% | III 45½% | 84½% |
| Wollen + inf. I 10% | | III 2% | 12% |

Rein. I 1.1151 *ic lede u ter selven stat daer ick u sal maken sat*.

Rein. II 1.1175 *ic wil u leden tot eenre stat ende maken u van musen sat*.

Rein. I 1.1815 *ic ne sal u niet vele scelden*.

Rein. II 1.1835 *ic enwil niet veel schelden*.

In the complete Reinaert II, 228 instances occur.

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|----------|------|
| Pres. I 41⅓% | II 1¼% | III 1¼% | 4⅓% |
| Sollen + inf. I 43% | II 4⅓% | III 41½% | 88⅓% |
| Wollen + inf. I 4⅔% | | III 1% | 5⅔% |

This result agrees very closely with that of Reinaert I. The question remains, why Reinaert II in the section which corresponds to Reinaert I changes *sollen* to *wollen* in the places cited, whereas in the remaining section it uses practically the same forms as Reinaert I. Cf. also

Rein. I 1.30 *si bad mi dat ic soude maken*

„ II 1.32 *si bad mi dat ic woude maken*.

Flovent, Germ. 9, 417, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, has 9 instances.

| | | |
|----------------------|----------|------|
| Pres. I 0% | III 22⅔% | 22⅔% |
| Sollen + inf. I 55⅓% | III 11⅓% | 66⅔% |
| Wollen + inf. I 11⅓% | | 11⅓% |

1. 175 *ic sal u bringen*; 166 *ander brulocht lat ic staen, / en wil ander ridene ane vaen*. 631 *nu sal mi haten vader en moeder*.

Zs. f. d. A. 22, 97, a Dutch Apocalypse of the fourteenth century, is the only text examined, in which Dutch shows that it is acquainted with the use of *werden* + *infinitive* to express futurity. There are 144 instances altogether.

Pres. I 3⁰/₀ II 2²/₃⁰/₀ III 9⁰/₀ 12²/₃⁰/₀

Sollen + inf. I 23¹/₂⁰/₀ II 3¹/₂⁰/₀ III 53⁰/₀ 80⁰/₀

Werden + inf. 2²/₃⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 2⁰/₀

Werden + pres. part. 2⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 2⁰/₀

XVII, 22 *audietur — ne wert nummer ghehoort werden*; XV, 4 *venient — heydine werden commende*; II, 7 *dabo — sal ic gheven*; I, 4 *videbit — sal sien*.

This solitary instance of *werden* + *infinitive* is not easily explained, unless we assume that the Dutch version was based on a version in another dialect which used this form. The fact that it is accompanied by 3 instances of *werden* + *present participle*, a form which also is not found in the other Dutch texts examined, seems to support this view.

In Zs. f. d. Phil. 27, 15 there is a Dutch version of the French poem „Baudouin de Sebourg“. It is of the fourteenth century and contains 12 instances, of which 7 have the corresponding future in French, which is not so diffuse as the Dutch. The distribution is as follows:

Pres. I 0⁰/₀ II 8¹/₃⁰/₀ 8¹/₃⁰/₀

Sollen + inf. I 75⁰/₀ III 8¹/₃ 83¹/₃⁰/₀

Wollen + inf. I 8¹/₃⁰/₀ 8¹/₃⁰/₀

The instances having French counterparts are: 1. 127 *ic sal u hulpen van dem live*; 131 *dine kinder sal ic morden*; 320 *ic wil gereiden sonder spare*; 280 *ic sal u vercoepen*; 285 *dan sal ic hebben*; 258 *ic di sal ontbieden*; 273 *gi in dlant nemmermer comt weder*.

Niedd. Jahrb. 1886, 106, „Mittelniederländische Bruchstücke“, contain 4 instances, all of which are *sollen* + *infinitive*, 1 in the first person, 3 in the third.

In the „Kriegsprophezeiung“, Nied. Jahrb., 1886, 116, of the first half of the fifteenth century, there are 59 instances. These are all in the third person, 57 instances of *sollen + infinitive* and 2 of the *present tense*.

Zs. f. d. A. 19, 93, „Leben Jesu“, of the fifteenth century, has only *sollen + infinitive*. There are 4 instances, 2 in the third person, 1 each in the first and second.

p. 96 *van welken wi ierst sculen segghen*; 96 *un istic sal hebben dat he biddet*.

Niedd. Jahrb. 1887, 111, „Kleine Mittelniederländische Dichtung“, of the fifteenth century, has 7 instances, 1 each of *present I* and *sollen + infinitive I*, and 5 of *sollen + infinitive III*.

Germ. 31, 1 and 164, contains specimens of the writings of Dutch mystics of the end of the fifteenth century. There are 106 instances.

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Pres. I $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ | III 3% | $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 24% | II 8% | III 57% |
| Wollen + inf. I 3% | | 3% |
| Werden + perf. part. 4% | | |

p. 7 *daerom suld y zyn croone dragen*; 12 *soe sullen wy vercrygen daer ons godt toe benimpt*; 33 *in di sal ic setten mynen thron*; 199 *so sullen wy nu vervolgen*; 167 *nu willen wy vervolgen*.

The most characteristic feature of Dutch is its consistent use of *sollen + infinitive*. *Wollen + infinitive* is restricted to the first person, there being only two exceptions, both in *Reinaert II*, where there is a tendency to change *sollen* to *wollen*. In the instances of the first person, there is often a suspicion present that the writer wishes to express both intention and futurity.

Another peculiarity is the almost total absence of *werden + infinitive* and *werden + present participle*. Of 1325 instances only 3 are *werden + present participle* and only 1 is *werden + infinitive*. *Werden + adjective* is not found much more frequently, occurring only 4 times. The only place, besides the *Apocalypse* (Germ. 22), where it occurs, is *Maerlant's Rijmbijbel*, where it appears once. These three forms are therefore practically restricted to one text. From these facts we may make

two inferences: 1. That the Apocalypse is descended from a text written in another dialect which uses these three forms. 2. That these three forms seem to have some sort of interrelation, so that the use of the one would tend to the use of the others.

4. Bavarian.

The earliest text examined is the Vienna Ms. of Notker's Psalms, of the eleventh century, edited by Heinzl and Scherer, Straßburg, 1876. In the translation of the Latin 690 instances are found.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. I 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ % | II 10 % | III 50 % | 87 $\frac{1}{2}$ % |
| Sollen + inf. I $\frac{3}{10}$ % | | III $\frac{3}{10}$ % | $\frac{3}{5}$ % |
| Werden + adj. 2 % | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 9 % | | | |

In the Glosses 296 instances occur.

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. I 16 % | II 5 % | III 34 % | 55 % |
| Sollen + inf. I 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ % | II $\frac{2}{3}$ % | III 8 $\frac{2}{3}$ % | 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ % |
| Wollen + inf. I 1 % | | | 1 % |
| Werden + adj. 17 % | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 17 $\frac{2}{3}$ % | | | |
| Werden + inf. $\frac{2}{3}$ % | | | |

In the Alemannic text of Notker, 1 instance of *werden* + *infinitive* occurs, which is likewise found in the Vienna manuscript. The latter however contains a second instance, not found in the other version. It occurs in the gloss to Ps. 108, 9, „*sin chona, der willo der ienti gefuoget ist samo chona charle unde danne geberen wirt dei werch*“. The other instance, occurring in both, is in Ps. 1, 6. Quoniam novit dominus. Gloss „*wande got weiz den weg dera rehtono, er gewerdet si wizzen unde iro werch*“. The question presents itself, what is the genesis of these forms?

Ps. 9, 19 — peribit — *sol florn sin*; 36, 20 peribunt — *zegen*; 10, 11 *er sol danne geeiscon daz er dahta*.

In the „Wiener Genesis“ (Fundgr. II), of the last quarter of the eleventh century, we find 152 instances.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. I 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ % | II 11 % | III 32 % | 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ % |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % | II 7 % | III 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ % | 20 % |

Wollen + inf. I $14\frac{1}{2}\%$ II $1\frac{1}{3}\%$ III $2\frac{2}{3}\%$ $18\frac{1}{2}\%$
Werden + adj. 7%

We here see a decided increase in the frequency of the forms with *sollen* and *wollen*. This is true also of the next text, the „Wiener Exodus“ (Fundgr. II). It is of a somewhat later date than „Genesis“ and contains 54 instances.

Pres. I $18\frac{1}{2}\%$ II $3\frac{2}{3}\%$ III $14\frac{9}{10}\%$ 37%

Sollen + inf. I $3\frac{2}{3}\%$ II 20% III 9% $32\frac{2}{3}\%$

Wollen + inf. I 26% III $3\frac{2}{3}\%$ $29\frac{2}{3}\%$

p. 60, 16 facturus *daz er wil stiften*; 35, 42 *der daz scol garnen*.

Although both the „Wiener Genesis“ and „Exodus“ are thought to be of a composite character, there are no striking differences in the various sections attributed to the different authors.

In the „Milstater Genesis“ (ed. Diemer, Vienna 1862) we find 166 instances.

Pres. I 7% II $10\frac{3}{4}\%$ III $28\frac{3}{4}\%$ $46\frac{1}{2}\%$

Sollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ II 7% III 9% $19\frac{1}{2}\%$

Wollen + inf. I 16% II $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ III 2% $19\frac{1}{4}\%$

Werden + adj. 7%

Werden + perf. part. 5%

The „Milstater Exodus“, published in the same volume contains 118 instances.

Pres. I 16% II $6\frac{3}{5}\%$ III 18% $40\frac{3}{5}\%$

Sollen + inf. I 6% II 10% III $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ $24\frac{1}{2}\%$

Wollen + inf. I 18% III 6%

Werden + adj. 6%

Werden + perf. part. 5%

Genesis 126, 32 *ero tecum — mit dir wil ich wonen*; 126, 53 *habebis — zeichen solt du haben*; 127, 8 *vadam et dicam — ich chume und wil iu sagen*; 128, 7 *ibimus — wir schullen varen*.

Exodus 150, 16 *die wil ich lazzen varen*; 150, 17 *die lazze ich varen*; 152, 5 *non audiet — newil iuch vernemen*; 161, 33 *facturus est — die er hiute tun wil*; 162, 30 *pugnabit — fur si hiute wil fechten*.

The „Vorauer“ manuscript, of a still later date, also shows the tendency towards an increase in the use of *sollen* + *infinitive*, to express futurity. There are 82 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Pres. I 5 ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 22 ⁹ / ₁₀ ⁰ / ₀ | 30 ² / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 7 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II 9 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 16 ⁰ / ₀ | 33 ¹ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 16 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 6 ⁰ / ₀ | 22 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 7 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 8 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 7, 10 *habebitis* — *die erden sult ir besitzen*; 51, 15 *nu welle wir eu deuten*; 57, 16 *nu schulle wir sagen*; 29, 27 *also varent die guten liute . . . an der vorderisten schare da wellent die gelisknare varen*.

Germ. 4, 440, „Sante Margareten Marter“, of the twelfth century, contains 11 instances.

| | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 9 ⁰ / ₀ | II 9 ⁰ / ₀ | III 18 ⁰ / ₀ | 36 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 9 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 9 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 18 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 18 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + perf. part. 36 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

1. 1 *nu schul wir beginnen*, 55 *nu wil ich beginnen*.

In the „Third Psalter“, cod. pal. vindob. 2682, of the same century, we find a different state of affairs. There are 36 instances.

| | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 11 ⁰ / ₀ | II 19 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 47 ⁰ / ₀ | 77 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 3 ⁰ / ₀ | 3 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 8 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

Ps. 15, 9 *requiescet* — *der ruwen sol*, is the only instance of *sollen* + *infinitive* used as a future, in this text.

The „Windberg Psalter“, of the year 1178 (ed. Graff, Quedlinburg, 1839, and Schmeller, Zs. f. d. A. 8, 120), contains 1165 instances. Here again there is the reversion to the *present tense* forms, for of the 1165 instances, 978 are *present tense*, active, and 170 *werden perfect participle*, that is *present passive*. In other words all but 15 instances are *present tense*.

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 27 ⁰ / ₀ | II 10 ⁰ / ₀ | III 47 ⁰ / ₀ | 84 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + perf. part. 14 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 1 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

In Adelbrechts Johannes Baptista, from Carinthia, of about the middle of the twelfth century (Kraus, Kleinere Gedichte des XII. Jahrhunderts), 4 instances are found, 2 of *present* II, 1 each of *sollen* + *infinitive* I and III.

1. 222 *nu sculn wir in den namen sagen te dute.*

In Karajan's „Deutsche Sprachdenkmale des XII. Jahrhunderts“, Wien 1840, we find 20 instances.

Pres. I 0% III 25% 25%

Sollen + inf. I 0% III 15% 15%

Wollen + inf. I 5% III 10% 15%

Werden + adj. 10%

Werden + perf. part. 30%

Werden + pres. part. 5%

p. 26, 14 *nu sol in werden gesaget allerste von der maget*; 25, 25 *daz bezeichnet den heiligen geist, da es mit weinen ende gewinnet, da mit wirt es gelebente in got*; 53, 9 *ic wil in selbe ervillen waz ir mir zeliub habet getan.*

The „Kaiserchronik“, also of the twelfth century, edited by Schroeder, Mon. Germ. Deutsche Chron. I, 1892, contains 223 instances of the future tense.

Pres. I 28% II 7% III 24% 59%

Sollen + inf. I 10% II 1% III 10% 21%

Wollen + inf. I 3 1/2% II 1 1/2% 4%

Werden + adj. 7%

Werden + perf. part. 8 1/2%

An example deserving some little attention occurs l. 12790 „*er sprach: ich mich des wol instande, ez wirt minem lîbe harte enplanden daz mir ie von dir ze lîbe geschach*“. From the examples in B. M. Z. Middle High German Dictionary it is seen that „*enplanden*“ is the perfect participle. It shows however how *werden* + *perfect participle* may have the force of futurity and at the same time be identical in form with *werden* + *infinitive*.

1. 2272 *ie ne han zuo dir nicheinen muot, ich ne sol mich an dich nicht wenden / noch min edele kunne nicht schenden.* 3088 *dannoch skone wir dinir wizze und sulen dine frunt sin.* 2482 *ich ne sol nimmer irsterben*; 4495 *so laze mich got leben, wir sullen dich geben.* 405 *nu wil ich in sagen*; 6467 *nu sullen*

wir ouch sagen; 8996 pariet — si sol einen son tragen; 12318 ja hat si dich bestanden mit zoubenlichen dingen, du wilt von ir grozen schaden gewinnen.

There is little that is characteristic in the Bavarian forms up to this time. The idea of futurity in all three persons is expressed chiefly by the present tense. For the texts so far examined 3015 instances have occurred, and for these the statistics are:

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 21 ¹ / ₁₀ 0/0 | II | 8 ⁹ / ₁₀ 0/0 | III | 40 0/0 | 70 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. | I 1 ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 | II | 1 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III | 4 0/0 | 7 ³ / ₁₀ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. | I 3 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | II | 1 ¹ / ₆ 0/0 | III | 4 ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 | 4 ³ / ₁₀ 0/0 |

The remaining 18 0/0 are divided between *werden* + *adjective* or *participle* or *infinitive*.

Fundgr. I, 71 contains some Bavarian sermons of the beginning of the thirteenth century. Here we find 54 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----|-------|-----|--------|--------|
| Pres. I | 4 0/0 | II | 2 0/0 | III | 22 0/0 | 28 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. | I 6 0/0 | II | 8 0/0 | III | 15 0/0 | 29 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. | I 8 0/0 | | | | | 8 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 15 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 22 0/0 | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. | 2 0/0 | | | | | |

p. 76, 35 *ir schult ouch geloben daz wir die selben wunder gesehen schuln an dem jungisten urtaeil*; 83, 24 *mit ir helfe scül wir alle unser not überwinden*; 81, 8 *darumbe wellen wir iu sagen*; 108, 46 *orietur — scol ufsten rehte und sol unrehte gestillet werden*.

It may be worth to note that „*amen dico*“ in this text is regularly translated by „*ich wil sagen*“.

Germ. 1, 441, a sermon which Grieshaber thinks is a thirteenth century Austrian copy of a twelfth century original, contains 29 instances.

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 41 ⁰ / ₀ | 41 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 3 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 14 ⁰ / ₀ | III 17 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | 35 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 14 ⁰ / ₀ | 14 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 7 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 3 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

The 3 instances of *wollen* + *infinitive* III are due to oratio obliqua.

p. 452, 12 *daz wir niht gedencken mugen ob wir iemer disen lip verwandeln suln*; 450, 7 *welhen wiz er daz verdient hat, daz sult ir vernemen*; 449, 12 *daz sol iwer genist sin ze dem ewigin libe*.

In the second volume of Schönbach's Predigten, of the thirteenth, we find a total of 261 instances.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Pres. I $6^0/0$ | II $6^{1/2} 0/0$ | III $49^0/0$ | $61^{1/2} 0/0$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $1^{1/2} 0/0$ | | III $1^{1/2} 0/0$ | $3^0/0$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $3^{4/5} 0/0$ | | III $1^{1/2} 0/0$ | $4^{3/10} 0/0$ |
| Werden + adj. $8^0/0$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $20^0/0$ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $3^0/0$ | | | |
| Werden + inf. $1^{1/2} 0/0$ | | | |

One instance can not be placed with certainty. p. 15, 31 *so der herre verswigin wirt, so nimmt er . . .* From the context we might classify this as *werden* + *infinitive*.

The instance of *wollen* + *infinitive* III is also the result of oratio obliqua: 65, 37 *hat uns gehaissen daz er uns enphan wil*.

p. 96, 16 *so wirt awer die fraeude der unseligen verwandelt werden*; 41, 18 *daz si alliu dinch minnent werdent und bozheit lazzent werden*.

What may be regarded as a transitional form is found p. 166, 27. *Erit fletus et stridor* is translated „*da wirt er wainent und grisgramment mit den zenden*“. This phrase is generally translated without the „er“, thus: *da wirt grisgrammen mit den zenden*. The fact that the pronoun „er“ does not translate any portion of the Latin phrase would indicate that it was inserted by the scribe.

W. S. 98 contains a Benedictinerregel of the thirteenth century, in which 35 instances occur.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Pres. I $11^{2/3} 0/0$ | II $5^{5/7} 0/0$ | III $28^{1/2} 0/0$ | $45^{6/7} 0/0$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $11^{2/3} 0/0$ | | III $5^{5/7} 0/0$ | $27^{1/3} 0/0$ |
| Werden + adj. $11^{2/3} 0/0$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $25^{5/7} 0/0$ | | | |

VI, 1 *custodiam* — *ich sol bebarne*; XIX, 7 *psallam* — *ich sol singen*.

Jeitteles' „Predigten aus St. Paul“ (Innsbruck 1878), also of the thirteenth century, contain 206 instances.

| | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 7 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 19 ⁰ / ₀ | 27 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 14 ⁰ / ₀ | II 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 8 ⁰ / ₀ | 22 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 15 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 3 ⁰ / ₀ | 18 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 9 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 19 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + inf. 3 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

12, 7 aures audient — *nu suln wir horen: 43, 8 als wir iu sagen suln; 11, 6 ich wil chunt tun; 11, 9 manifestabo — ich chund dir, . . . ich wil mich zeigen, . . . ich wil dich lazen sehen. 215 dominus dabit — der herre wil uns sin guote zeigin; 13, 14 die blinten werden gesehente, die touben gehorente.*

In the Bavarian sermons of the thirteenth century, published by Schönbach, W. S. 94, we find 48 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 10 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ⁰ / ₀ | III 54 ⁰ / ₀ | 66 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 ⁰ / ₀ | II 4 ⁰ / ₀ | III 4 ⁰ / ₀ | 10 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 4 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 2 ⁰ / ₀ | 6 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + pres. part. 4 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 10 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

196, 4 *di geziug sint daz ich dich verdammen sol; 216, 34 di besiztent es, die werdent vil froelichen stent.*

Berthold von Regensburg (ed. Pfeiffer and Strobl, Wien 1862, 1880), of the latter portion of the thirteenth century, contains 540 instances in the two volumes. The first has 316 instances, the second 224. As there are some variations between the two volumes, the figures for each are given.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Vol. I Pres. I 1 ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ⁰ / ₀ | III 16 ⁰ / ₀ | 19 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 3 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 7 ⁵ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 13 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 7 ⁰ / ₀ | 20 ⁵ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 3 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 21 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 16 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Vol. II Pres. I 1 ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ⁰ / ₀ | III 18 ⁰ / ₀ | 21 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 1 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 3 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 5 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 6 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 9 ⁰ / ₀ | 16 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

Werden + pres. part. 9⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 14⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 30⁰/₀

The second volume contains sermons which are the counterparts of sermons in the first volume, but with certain changes which would seem to indicate a revision of the original sermons.

It is noteworthy that of the 11 instances of *werden* + *infinitive* in vol. I, 5 occur in Sermon XIII and of the 10 in vol. II, 6 are found in Sermon XLVI, which corresponds to No. XIII of vol. I.

Vol. I p. 177, 36 *nu sich welher leie ruowe du vinden wellest. Es ist kleiniu freude die du daran vindest.* 99, 16 *also git ir unser herre den lip wider.* 99, 13 *er wil ir den lip wider geben.* 206, 30 *daz vol er wol gelonen.* 182, 2 *die werdent vil zornlichen rechen und werdent sich die heiligen rechende. St. Peter wirt sich rechen.*

Such instances as the last would seem to indicate that for Berthold at least *werden* + *infinitive* and *werden* + *present participle* are identical in use and meaning. It would also lend color to the theory that the infinitive construction has descended from the participial one.

Vol. II 94, 19 *di werdent si richten*; 182, 2 *ich furhte ir welt sigelos werden.*

The „Olmütz Pericopes“, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, published Zs. f. d. Phil. 12, 1, contain in the New Testament portions 298 instances, in those from the Old Testament 46. There is a great difference in the usage of these two parts. For the New Testament, the statistics are:

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 12 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II 15 ⁰ / ₀ | III 43 ⁰ / ₀ | 70 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | III 2 ⁰ / ₀ | 2 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

In the Old Testament portions we find:

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| Pres. I 6 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 45 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 52 ¹ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 9 ⁰ / ₀ | | |

Werden + pres. part. 24⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 14⁰/₀

In other words, probably two translations were used here, the Old Testament sections being taken from a translation which used *werden* + *infinitive* and *werden* + *present participle* to a large extent (in this text amounting to 33⁰/₀), while the New Testament was taken from a source using the *present tense* more widely, the total number of instances of *werden* + *infinitive* and *werden* + *present participle* amounting to but 2²/₃⁰/₀.

Luke 2, 23 vocabitur — *sol gehaissen werden*; 5, 20 eris capiens — *wirstu vahn*; I Cor. 13, 12 cognoscam — *ich wierd erchennen*; John 13, 7 scies — *wurdestu wissend*. Isaiah 60, 2 orietur — *wirt ufgeund*; 60, 3 ambulabunt — *werdent geund*; 60, 5 videbis — *wirstu sehund*; 60, 6 operiert — *wirt bedekund*.

In „Katharinen Marter“, Germ. 8, 129 we have the Bavarian version of a Middle German original. The present form is supposed to date from the end of the thirteenth century, and contains 113 instances.

Pres. I 12⁰/₀ II 10¹/₂⁰/₀ III 13⁰/₀ 35¹/₂⁰/₀

Sollen + inf. I 9¹/₂⁰/₀ II 8⁰/₀ III 10⁰/₀ 27¹/₂⁰/₀

Wollen + inf. I 23⁰/₀ II 1⁰/₀ III 3⁰/₀ 27⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 5⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 4⁰/₀

l. 410 *aller erst sul wir beginnen*; 1171 *ich wil iu lihen unde geben / die wile daz ir muget leben / ich riche iu immer mere unt gib iu* 1213 *daz sul wir nach dinem willen gestillen*; 2479 *dises dinges hastu sunde. Du wil in daz abgrunde dine sele versenken, dune wellest dich bedenken*. 2498 *ich wene al min riche wil zergen*; 1260 *so sult ir gewert sin*.

In „Konrad von Heimesfurt“, Zs. f. d. A. 8, 156, of the fourteenth century, we find 10 instances.

Pres. I 10⁰/₀ II 10⁰/₀ III 60⁰/₀ 80⁰/₀

Sollen + inf. I 0⁰/₀ III 20⁰/₀ 20⁰/₀

W. S. 95 contains a „Passional of the fourteenth century, which furnishes 18 instances.

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Pres. I 11 ⁰ / ₀ | II 22 ⁰ / ₀ | III 33 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 66 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 27 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | 27 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

II, 143 *welt ir nach got ziehen so wil ich ewr arbeit klagen.*

The „Sixth Group“, egm 341, of the fourteenth century, has 13 instances.

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 15 ⁰ / ₀ | II 23 ⁰ / ₀ | III 15 ⁰ / ₀ | 53 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 23 ⁰ / ₀ | | 23 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 15 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

That *sollen* + *infinitive* in this text is restricted to the second person is due to the fact that the passages concerned are Gen. III, 14 and 16, comedes, gradieris, sub viri potestate eris; these beside futurity, also express something of a command.

Bavarian is peculiar in that it does not have its stages of developement so sharply defined as, for instance, Middle German. Beginning with the fourteenth century, however, we may note a decrease in the use of *sollen* + *infinitive* and *wollen* + *infinitive*, together with a corresponding increase in the use of *werden* + *infinitive* and of the *present tense*.

In „Priester Arnolt's Legende von St. Juliana“, W. S. 101, 445 we find 18 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| Pres. I 39 ⁰ / ₀ | II 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ | III 16 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 61 ² / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ | | | 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ | | | 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 5 ⁵ / ₉ ⁰ / ₀ . | | | |
| Müezen + inf. 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

1. 1 *nu sul wir beginnen | eine rede vure bringen*; 83 *ja, han ich vater min | einen vesten muot begriffen | davon muoz mir nicht geschaffen | dehein werltlichiu dro.* 98 *wirfe ich dich den tieren, die müezen dich schiere vrezzen.*

Zs. f. d. Phil. 14, 64, „Geistliche Prosa“, of the fourteenth century, the manuscript being of the fifteenth, contains 12 instances.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 25 ⁰ / ₀ | 25 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 8 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 33 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 41 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |

Wollen + inf. I $8\frac{1}{3}\%$

III $8\frac{1}{3}\%$ $16\frac{2}{3}\%$

Werden + pres. part. $16\frac{2}{3}\%$

p. 65 orieris — *soltu aufgen*; 66 *dar er auf wirt gent*; 66 *die er niezzent wirt*; 66 honorificabit — *swer mir dient den wil mein vater ern*; 76 *nu wellen wir sprechen von dir*;

The „Seventh Group“, Augsburg Msc. 3, of the year 1350, has 45 instances.

Pres. I 15%

II 15%

III 62%

93%

Sollen + inf. I 0%

II 2%

III 2%

4%

Werden + pres. part. 2%

Isaiah 60, 2 orietur — *sol ufgen*; Luke 2, 12 *ir solt vinden*; II Peter 3, 10 *werdent förgent*.

The „Nineteenth Group“, cgm 532, dated 1367, contains 26 instances.

Pres. I 8%

III 11%

19%

Sollen + inf. I 0%

II 42%

III 38%

80%

This text has Middle German peculiarities, and to this fact we may attribute the great frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive*.

The „Fourth Psalter“, Olmütz Ms. 2. V. 10, of the same century, furnishes 33 instances.

Pres. I 9%

II 15%

III 21%

45%

Wollen + inf. I 3%

3%

Werden + inf. 39%

Werden + adj. 3%

Werden + perf. part. 6%

Werden + pres. 3%

The one instance of *wollen* + *infinitive* occurs Ps. 15, 4 non congregabo — — nec memor ero — *nicht wil ich samen die samenung noch gedenkend wird ich*. Possibly the translator desired to give the future a connotation of intention. This is the first one of the Bavarian texts so far examined that shows a considerable use of *werden* + *infinitive*.

In the „Twenty-third Group“, cgm 746, we find 19 instances.

Pres. I $5\frac{1}{4}\%$

II 16%

III 37%

$58\frac{1}{4}\%$

Sollen + inf. I 0%

II $5\frac{1}{4}\%$

III $10\frac{1}{2}\%$

$15\frac{3}{4}\%$

Werden + inf. 21%

Werden + perf. part. $5\frac{1}{4}\%$

John 16, 2 *facient* — *sy werden machen* 16, 3 *facient* — *tuend sy*.

The „Eighth Psalter“, also of the fourteenth century, has 15 instances.

| | | |
|--|--|--------|
| Pres. I 13 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | III 26 ² / ₃ 0/0 | 40 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 6 ² / ₃ 0/0 | III 13 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | 20 0/0 |
| Werden + inf. 26 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | |
| Werden + adj. 6 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 6 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | |

Ps. 1, 2 *meditabitur* — *er sol trahte*; 1, 5 *non defluet* — *sol nicht abfallen*; 15, 7 *benedicam* — *ic soll loben*; 68, 22 *confringet* — *wird got zu prechen*; 68, 23 *convertam* — *ich werde bekeren*; 68, 30 *offerent* — *werden gab oppfern*; *dabit* — *er wirt geben*.

It is rather remarkable that all the instances of *werden* + *infinitive* should occur in one psalm (68). Possibly it was taken bodily from another psalter just as some parts of the Vienna version of Notkers's psalms differ from the more authentic Alemannic copy.

Hadamar von Laber's „Die Jagd“ (L. V. Stuttg. 20) of the first half of the fourteenth century, contains 93 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I 4 0/0 | II 7 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III 15 0/0 | 26 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 9 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | III 15 0/0 | 24 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 7 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | II 1 0/0 | III 4 0/0 | 12 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 8 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 14 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 8 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + inf. 4 0/0 | | | |

Werden + *infinitive* is not used to the same extent as in some of the preceding texts. This is probably due to the fact that the language of prose is not the language of poetry, which latter often uses archaic or obsolescent constructions which would be entirely out of place in ordinary prose.

49, 1 *und wirstu immer jagent*; 75, 2 *noch hiute wurd jagent*; 29, 6 *und wurd ich ummer jagen*.

The „Tenth Psalter“, Berlin fol. 630, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains 15 instances, 2 of *present* I, 12 of *present* III, and 1 of *werden* + *adjective*.

In the „Eighteenth Psalter“, cgm 182, we find 17 cases, 4 of *present* I, 1 of *present* II, 10 of *present* III, and 2 of *werden* + *adjective*.

Zs. f. d. A. 6, 13, a Tyrolese Passional of the end of the fourteenth century, has 6 instances, 1 each of *present* I and III, and 2 each of *sollen* + *infinitive* I and *werden* + *perfect participle*.

l. 44 *wan du pist ein lieber chnab, des ich gedenchen sal an dir*.

The „Twenty-third Psalter“, cgm 365, contains 19 instances. Here again the present tense is prominent.

Pres. I 21⁰/₀ III 63⁰/₀ 84⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 5⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 5⁰/₀

Werden inf. 5⁰/₀

Ps. 15 4 nec memor ero — *noch gedenchtig wurd ich haben*.

The same condition of affairs is seen in the „Fifteenth Psalter“, Olmütz 1, VII, 5. This contains 19 instances, of which 5 are *present* I, 12 *present* III, and 2 *werden* + *adjective*.

The „Twenty-second Psalter“, cgm 1117 b, dated 1403, has 19 instances also, but only 2 are *present* III; 15 are *werden* + *infinitive* and 2 are *werden* + *adjective*. Thus we see a sudden change, *werden* + *infinitive* apparently becomes the regular form, the others being exceptional.

In the „Eleventh Group“ there are two manuscripts. The one, Heidelberg Pg. 29, of the middle of the fifteenth century, has preserved forms which the other, cgm 353, though older, has lost. In the former (Pg. 29) we find 40 instances.

Pres. I 0⁰/₀ II 25⁰/₀ III 55⁰/₀ 80⁰/₀

Werden + inf. 2¹/₂⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 17¹/₂⁰/₀

In cgm there are 18 instances.

Pres. I 5¹/₂⁰/₀ III 44⁴/₅⁰/₀ 50³/₁₀⁰/₀

Werden + infinitive 11⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 11²/₃⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 22⁰/₀

It would seem that the writer of Pg. 29 was more conservative and adhered more closely to the original than the writer of cgm 353.

The „Twentieth Psalter“, Heidelberg Pg. 425, also shows a great frequency of the *present tense*. There are but 11 instances, of which 3 are *present* I, 6 *present* II, and 2 *werden* + *adjective*.

The „Third Group“, cgm 219, dated 1463, contains 36 instances. Here *werden* + *infinitive* occurs more frequently.

Pres. I 3⁰/₀ II 22¹/₂⁰/₀ III 33¹/₃⁰/₀ 58⁵/₆⁰/₀

Werden + inf. 25⁰/₀

Werden + pres. part. 3⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 5¹/₂⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 8¹/₃⁰/₀

Gen. 3, 5 *eritis scientes* — *ir werd wissen*; 3, 14 *gradieris, ambulabis* — *wirstu gend und essen*. In the second example the form *werden* + *present participle* apparently is felt to be exactly equivalent to *werden* + *infinitive*.

Zs. f. d. Phil. 27, 148 contains some sermons from Nuremberg, the present form of which dates from the fifteenth century, but whose original was much older. In them we find 106 instances.

Pres. I 5⁰/₀ II 4⁰/₀ III 54⁰/₀ 63⁰/₀

Sollen + inf. I 1⁰/₀ II 2⁰/₀ III 6⁰/₀ 9⁰/₀

Wollen + inf. I 1⁰/₀ 1⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 5⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 23⁰/₀

Werden + inf. 1⁰/₀

II, 4 *wan wie die ergen sol, das wel wir euch sagen*; II, 196 *das sul wir euch sagen*; II, 70 *precedet* — *das fewr sol komen*; VII, 50 *das wirt hundertvaltlic samen geben*; VI, 15 *so werdent euch ewr augen offen und wizzet*.

The „Fourteenth Group“, cgm 5018, of the year 1438, has 37 instances. Although preceding the others in point of time, it reflects a later usage, *werden* + *infinitive* being the most frequent construction.

Pres. I 0⁰/₀ II 2²/₃⁰/₀ III 13¹/₂⁰/₀ 16¹/₆⁰/₀

Werden + inf. 70¹/₃⁰/₀

Werden + adj. 5¹/₃⁰/₀

Werden + perf. part. 8⁰/₀

It was doubtless such texts that occasioned the remark of the Münster Grammatik: *edder als de averlender seggen, ik werde lesen*“.

Gotha 11, also of the fifteenth century, contains 17 instances.

Pres. I 6% II 6% III 29% 41%

Werden + inf. 53%

Werden + adj. 6%

Germ. 30, 88 contains some sermons of Georg von Giengen, dated 1465. Only 2 instances occur, but both are *werden* + *infinitive*.

p. 92 *gott wiert dier . . . nicht uber sechen. 96 und mainent das ains sterben wird.*

Zs. f. d. A. 8, 507 contains „Sprüche“, of Hans Folz of Nuremberg, who lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. They contain 13 instances.

Pres. I $7\frac{2}{3}$ %

Wollen + inf. I $7\frac{2}{3}$ %

Werden + inf. 54%

Werden + adj. $7\frac{2}{3}$ %

Werden + perf. part. 23%

In „Susanna“, Germ. 22, 342, we find a condition of affairs not encountered in the other texts, viz. an unusual frequency of *wollen* + *infinitive*. There are 28 instances of the future tense, as follows:

Pres. I $3\frac{1}{2}$ %

Wollen + inf. I 61%

Werden + inf. 14%

Werden + adj. 14%

Werden + perf. part. 7%

l. 49 (dicemus of Daniel 13, 21) *ob du niht welt unssers willen pflegen / so wellen wir zeugnüss über dich geben. 29 wir wellen hin gen zu haus, / wann ir eur sach habt gericht aus / wellen wir wider kommen her. 332 das wil ich euch puess machen / daz euer keiner wirt lachen.*

The most noteworthy fact in Bavarian is the great frequency of the *present tense* to express the future. This occurs

in Middle German in the next to the last stage, when *sollen* + *infinitive* fell into disuse. In Bavarian however, *sollen* + *infinitive* never gained the ascendancy it attained in Middle German. In none of the larger monuments, with the single exception of Jeitteles' Predigten, does it comprise more than 20%. The period of greatest frequency was the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth, its use died out almost completely, the examples there found being largely the result of close copying, the writers not venturing to make many changes in the text as handed down.

Wollen + *infinitive* is used almost exclusively in the first person. Berthold von Regensburg is the only exception, about 8% of all the instances in his works being *wollen* + *infinitive* III. This was not followed by his successors, and we find it only sporadically in the fourteenth century, and not at all in the fifteenth.

To sum up briefly: The *present tense* used to express futurity is common through all the periods of Bavarian, being almost the only means of expressing futurity in the second person, occurring over 150 times in this sense as against 28 for *sollen* + *infinitive*, and 4 for *wollen* + *infinitive*.

The *present tense* in all three persons gradually displaces *sollen* + *infinitive* and *wollen* + *infinitive*, until the fifteenth century, when the process is completed. At this time *werden* + *infinitive* comes in, and is used when the *present tense* does not suffice.

5 a. Alemannic.

The earliest text examined is Notker (ed. Piper, Freiburg 1882—83). In the psalms we find 1224 instances.

Pres. I $27\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ II $9\frac{1}{4}\frac{0}{0}$ III $51\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ $87\frac{11}{12}\frac{0}{0}$

Sollen + inf. I $\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ III $\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ $\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + adj. $2\frac{1}{4}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + perf. part. $9\frac{1}{4}\frac{0}{0}$

In the glosses there are 317 instances.

Pres. I $15\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ II $4\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ III $38\frac{0}{0}$ $58\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

Sollen + inf. I $1\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ II $\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ III $8\frac{4}{5}$ $11\frac{2}{15}\frac{0}{0}$

Wollen + inf. I $1\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ $1\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + adj. $9\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + perf. part 18%

Werden + inf. $\frac{1}{3}\%$

The one instance of *werden* + *infinitive* has been referred to in the discussion of the Vienna Ms., p. 36. As the St. Gall Ms. is of the twelfth century, this instance is the earliest one that has thus far been noted. The context clearly shows that futurity is expressed. Ps. 1, 6 Quoniam novit dominus viam justorum. *Wanda got weiz ten weg tero rehdon. Er gewerdet sie wizzen unde iro werch. Et iter impiorum peribit. Unde dero argon fart wirt ferlorn. Wanda sie selben ferlornen werdent, pediu wirt iro fart ferlorn, daz sint iro werch.*

Ps. 52, 5 scient — *suln ne keeicon*; 55, 4 timebo — *ne sol ih furchten*; 55, 5 timebo — *ne furhte ih*; 25, 4 non introibo, gloss *ih ne wilo mich sar heften.*

In the remainder of the works going under Notker's name, 112 instances occur.

Pres. I 2%

II 5%

III 56%

63%

Sollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{3}\%$

III $3\frac{1}{2}\%$

7%

Werden + adj. 24%

Werden + perf. part. $5\frac{1}{3}\%$

We note that the bulk of the instances are in the third person, due possibly to the subjects, consisting largely of disquisitions on logic, theology and other abstract sciences.

Boethius, Book V, 547, 11 erunt — *so sulen wesin*; 547, 21 erit — *so wirt*; 548, 3 erunt — *sint.*

In the „Wiener Supplement 2559“, of the twelfth century, published by Haupt, Germ. 14, 440, we find 72 instances.

Pres. I $8\frac{1}{3}\%$

II $9\frac{2}{3}\%$

III $41\frac{2}{3}\%$

$59\frac{2}{3}\%$

Wollen + inf. I 0%

II $1\frac{1}{3}\%$

$1\frac{1}{3}\%$

Werden + adj. $19\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + perf. part. $19\frac{1}{2}\%$

Matt. 23, 33 fugietis — *welt ir entfliehen*; 23, 13 erit stridor — *wirt wainen und grisgrammen.* Mark 10, 33. Quia ecce ascendimus Jerosolymam et Filius hominis tradetur is translated: *unt er sprach seht wirt chomm ze irl-m unt der sun des men-*

nischen der wirt geantwortet. It seems probable that this is a scribal error for „*wir chomm*“.

In an Alemannic sermon of the thirteenth century, published by Jeittles, Germ. 35, 171, we find 8 instances, 2 each of *wollen* + *infinitive* III, *werden* + *adjective*, and *werden* + *perfect participle*, and 1 each of *present* II and *wollen* + *infinitive* I.

p. 176, 33 *wan an weler stund der sunder mit rehter ruwe ersiuftet umb die sunde, so wil got vergezen und im vergeben.*

A „*Passionsgeschichte*“, in Zs. f. d. Phil. 15, 277, of the thirteenth century, exhibits a somewhat different state of affairs. Only 2 instances occur, but both are *sollen* + *infinitive*.

p. 278 *vō der marter die man an mir sol bigan un wie ich darnach sol erstan.*

In a Swiss Passion Play, of the first half of the same century, published Germ. 8, 285, we find 22 instances.

Pres. I 36% II 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ % III 18% 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ %

Sollen + inf. I 0% III 9% 9%

Wollen + inf. I 32% 32%

II l. 51 *wir han din gebiten daz din maht uns sol loesen; 85 darin so tuo uns balsama, daz wellen wir dir gelten wol.*

I l. 33 *Ruolinstacin, weiz ich wol, davon er gerne choufen sol.*

Mone I No 9. D, a Marienklage which Mone states is from Constance, and dates from the middle of the same century, contains 24 instances.

Pres. I 0% III 4% 4%

Sollen + inf. I 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ % II 4% III 8 $\frac{1}{3}$ % 29%

Wollen + inf. I 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ % III 8 $\frac{1}{3}$ % 45 $\frac{5}{6}$ %

Werden + adj. 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ %

Werden + perf. part. 4%

l. 283 *da wil er sinen kinden geben die himelische krone; 666 darnach wil ich erstan; 671 darnach sol ich ze himel varn; 674 da sol ich leben schone; 704 swie ich ein wil dir wurde benomen, doch solt du schiere komen dar.*

Zs. f. d. A. 8, 276, „*Mariengrüsse*“, of the middle of the thirteenth century, contain 8 instances.

Pres. I 25% II 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ % 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ %

Wollen + inf. I 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ % III 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ % 25%

Werden + inf. $12\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + adj. 25%

l. 406 *Gabriel der sprach vil suoze, got der wil bi dir be-
liben*; 700 *daz wirt noch klopfen*.

Here we have another early instance of *werden* + *infinitive*. It is, however, significant that this instance could have arisen from a form like „*daz wirt ein klopfen*“. Such an instance may also be seen in the next text.

This is an Alemannic sermon, of the same century, published Zs. f. d. A. 19, 181. Here we find 27 instances.

Pres. I $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ II $3\frac{2}{3}\%$ III 44% $55\frac{1}{6}\%$

Sollen + inf. I 15% III $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ $18\frac{1}{2}\%$

Wollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ $3\frac{1}{2}\%$

Werden + adj. 11%

Werden + perf. part. $3\frac{2}{3}\%$

Werden + pres. part. $7\frac{1}{2}\%$

p. 183, 6 *als diu zeichen beginnen werden*; 198, 10 *die si sehende werden*. 203, 11 *nu ich wil eu sagen*; 184, 15 *nu sul wir eu sagen*; 183, 1 *unt wirt michel sterbe von der halunge des meres*. This last example is the one referred to in the discussion of the preceding text. It is cited because it gives an indication of the manner in which constructions may change. „*Sterbe*“ might finally be felt as an infinitive.

Zs. f. d. Phil. 9, 29, some sermons of „Hugo, Lesemeister von Constanz“, of the thirteenth century, contain 14 instances.

Pres. I 0% III 7% 7%

Sollen + inf. I 0% III 36% 36%

Wollen + inf. I 14% II 7% III $21\frac{1}{2}\%$ 43%

Werden + perf. part. 7%

Werden + adj. 7%

p. 35 *ze ainem zuichen daz si uns miltecliche ze helfe wil komen*; 36 Luke 1, 66 *quis putas puer iste erit — was wenent ir daz daz kint werden welle. daz kint wirt vor gote groz. 40 pre-
parabit — er sol vorbereiten*; 36 *wir habent elliu dinc gelazin, was wiltu uns darumbe geben*.

Wackernagels Predigten (Basel 1876) contain sermons dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In those

of the thirteenth century, comprising sermons 1—26, we find 41 instances.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Pres. I $19\frac{1}{2}\%$ | III $19\frac{1}{2}\%$ | 39% |
| Sollen + inf. I 10% | III 17% | 27% |
| Wollen + inf. I $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Werden + adj. 14% | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 14% | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | |

XII, 72 *wie wir zeme jungisten urteilde sulin irstan, das seit St. Paulus*. VII, 62 *der wirt ouch tougenlich lebende*.

Sermons 27—70 are of the fourteenth century, but not from the same sources. This difference in authorship is shown also by the usage. In the group formed by 27—67 we find 259 instances.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. I $4\frac{1}{3}\%$ | II $2\frac{1}{3}\%$ | III 29% | $35\frac{2}{3}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 7% | II $4\frac{3}{5}\%$ | III $17\frac{2}{3}\%$ | $29\frac{4}{15}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $7\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | III $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $14\frac{1}{6}\%$ |
| Werden + adj. $4\frac{1}{3}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 13% | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $2\frac{1}{3}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + inf. $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | | |

XXIX, 21 *was er betiute das sullen wir sagen*; XXXII, 13 *was daz betuet daz wellen wir iu sagen*; XXXIX, 218 *was daz betuet das sagen wir*; XXXXI, 257 *das er geben wirt*; 54, 265 *daz wir des schouwen werden*.

In sermons 68 and 69 we find 51 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------|------------|--------|
| Pres. I 2% | II 2% | III 55% | 59% |
| Sollen + inf. I 0% | | III 2% | 2% |
| Werden + adj. 8% | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 12% | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $19\frac{3}{5}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + inf. 2% | | | |

Here we find the *present tense* and *werden + present participle* occupying the most prominent place, *sollen* and *wollen* being hardly used at all with future force. It is perhaps worth noting that of 18 instances of *werden + present participle* occurring in the entire volume, 10 are in the last group (68, 69),

and also of 5 instances of *werden* + *infinitive*, 4 occur in section 41—59.

41, 95 *ir werdent mich lassent und im volgende*; 48, 50 *die er hat getan und noch tuon wil*; 53, 177 *der uberwinder sol mich fuoren*; 53, 180 *der wil mich voeren*.

Germ. 7, 330 contains Alemannic sermons, also of the thirteenth century, the manuscript however dating from the fourteenth. Here we find 13 instances.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----|--|--|
| Sollen + inf. I | 23 ⁰ / ₀ | III | 30 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 53 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I | 23 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 23 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. | 7 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 7 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | 7 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 339 *essent ir so werdent ir wissende*; 341 *als Jonas was dri tage in dem buche des visches, also so sol des menschen sun sin in dem herzen des ertriches*. 344 *was die gesprochen haben daz sulen wir nu hoeren*.

With this text we may consider the first period in Alemannic as coming to a close. In the twelfth century the usage is the same as in Bavarian. In the thirteenth, however, we see the beginnings of a difference in development. *Wollen* + *infinitive* begins to be used more frequently, especially in the first person. *Sollen* + *infinitive* also is very common, especially in the third person. In the texts of the thirteenth century, and the first portion of the fourteenth, we find a total of 467 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|----|---|-----|--|---|
| Pres. I | 7 ⁰ / ₀ | II | 2 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III | 23 ⁰ / ₀ | 32 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I | 7 ⁰ / ₀ | II | 2 ⁴ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | III | 14 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 24 ³ / ₁₀ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I | 9 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II | 1 ⁴ / ₄ ⁰ / ₀ | III | 5 ¹ / ₄ ⁰ / ₀ | 15 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. | 1 ¹ / ₄ ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Werden + adj. | 9 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part | 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |

From this we see that the first person future is expressed by all three forms with a slight preference for *wollen* + *infinitive*. The second person is expressed by the *present tense* and *sollen* + *infinitive*, only one instance of *wollen* + *infinitive* occur-

ring and that in a question. The third person apparently has a preference for the *present tense*, which outnumbers the other two forms combined. It is to be noted however that *wollen + infinitive* III occurs much more frequently than in Bavarian.

The last feature that deserves notice is the frequency of *werden + present participle*. This remains characteristic of Alemannic up to the end of the fourteenth century.

Zs. f. d. A. 24, 28 contains fragments of a sermon of the first half of the fourteenth century, in which we find 8 cases, 2 of *present* II, 3 of *present* III und 1 each of *wollen + infinitive* I, *werden + present participle*, and *werden + perfect participle*.

The instance of *wollen + infinitive* I, although translating the Latin future, yet has a slight tinge of the idea of intention. l. 56 non credam — *so wil ich ez nit glouben*; l. 203 videbitis — *werdent ir mich sehend*; 105 ain wenig wile sehend ir mich nit und aber ain wile sehend ir.

In Alem. 1 and 2 we find a number of sermons of the fourteenth century. They contain 284 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|----|---|-----|--|---|
| Pres. I | 5 ⁰ / ₀ | II | 3 ⁰ / ₀ | III | 27 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 35 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I | 1 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | III | 1 ⁰ / ₀ | 2 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I | 26 ⁰ / ₀ | II | 1 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III | 2 ⁴ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | 29 ² / ₁₅ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. | 11 ¹ / ₄ ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 16 ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | 3 ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Werden + inf. | 1 ² / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. | 1 ⁰ / ₀ | | | | | |

Vol. I 235 *ich han guotes vil, nu sol ich mit froeden leben*; 240 mittam — *wem sol ich senden*; 70 *wenne ist der tag da du komen wilt zu rihtende*; 233 *das werden wir sehende*; 74 *du solt dich wol gehaben wenne der herre wil dich lossen und ergeczen*; 86 *ein gros hochzit do dir gote geben wirt*; 240 *er sol bitten oder im wirt sinre bitte vurzigin werden*.

Vol. II, 109 *die wolfe werden uns anfengen*; 214 *orietur — sol usgen*.

In an Alsatian sermon of the fourteenth century, published Zs. f. d. A. 7, 139, we find a different condition of affairs. *Sollen + infinitive* is very common. There are 23 instances.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|---------|-----|
| Pres. I 0% | II 4% | III 17% | 21% |
| Sollen + inf. I 0% | II 4% | III 35% | 39% |
| Wollen + inf. I 0% | | | 4% |
| Werden + inf. 13% | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 4% | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 13% | | | |
| Werden + adj. 4% | | | |

I, 142 *renovabitur* — *jugent wirt sich ernuwen*; I, 152 *daz du gottes wüerst dienen, und wüerst dancken*; I, 142 *also wurt er essende und wirt also jung*; III, 149 *abscedetur* — *den sol man abehouwen*; III, 158 *comedes* — *du solt daz brot ezzen*.

A somewhat similar phenomenon is seen in „Meister Ekehardt“, Alem. 3. Here we find 68 instances of the future tense. *Sollen* + *infinitive* is not so frequent here as in the preceding text.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|---------|-----|
| Pres. I 10% | II 4% | III 20% | 34% |
| Sollen + inf. I 3% | II 3% | III 7% | 13% |
| Wollen + inf. I 9% | | III 6% | 15% |
| Wollen + inf. I 1½% | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 3% | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 22% | | | |
| Werden + adj. 10% | | | |

p. 23, 9 *ich weis nit ob mir niemer rat würd*; 20, 13 *ich weis nit ob min iemer rat sol werden*; 99, 29 *exaltabitur* — *den wil got erhohen*; 28, 1 *man sagt von dem jungsten tac das got ze urteil sol sitzzen*. 208, 14 *es wirt ein borne usfliessen*; 234, 17 *swenne wir werdent essend*.

In the „Aurea Legenda“, Alem. 13 and 14, Alsatian of the fourteenth century, 146 instances are found. The usage here is similar to that found in Ekehardt.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------|---------|------|
| Pres. I 1⅓% | II 4% | III 23% | 28⅓% |
| Sollen + inf. I 5% | II ⅔% | III 4% | 9⅔% |
| Wollen + inf. I 7% | II 1—% | III 2% | 10% |
| Werden + inf. 2% | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 20% | | | |
| Werden ± perf. part. 15% | | | |
| Werden + adj. 15% | | | |

Vol. XIII, p. 68 *das sint die zeichen die er wurckende wirt*; 97 *pariet — maget enfohet und wirt geberend*; 121 *maget enfohet und gebirt*; 126 *ein frow sol gebern*; 91 *ich sol nit hinnen ufstan, die hunde tragent denne die hant her*.

Vol. XIV, 115 *orietur — sol ufgen*; 122 *so wirstu din lon enfohen*; 137 *daz ir werdent leiden*; 153 *ir werdent geben*.

Germ. 3, 412, „Predigtmärlein“, of the fifteenth century, may also be considered here although they are of somewhat later date. They are Alsatian and contain 54 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| Pres. I 13 ⁰ / ₀ | II 5 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 11 ⁰ / ₀ | 29 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 3 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | II 3 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 18 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 25 ⁵ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 33 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | 35 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + pres. part. 3 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 3 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 418, 43 *do nie mensch in kam und niemer mensch in kommen sol*; 422, 26 *ach, nuo lone dir got, so wil ich ingenote zuo himelriche varn*; 431, 24 *gang in daz holzelin unze man zuo messen wirt liutende*.

The Alsatian texts, while in all essentials following the regular Alemannic usage, yet seem to show traces of Middle German in the slightly increased use of *sollen* + *infinitive*, more especially in the third person.

In „Sibyllen Weissagung“, Mone No. 11, D, of the middle of the fourteenth century, 95 instances occur. The work may be divided into two sections, differing both in usage and in subject matter. The first treats of what the writer considered historical events. In this portion there are 53 instances.

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 22 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 22 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 8 ⁰ / ₀ | 8 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 2 ⁰ / ₀ | 2 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 39 ³ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + adj. 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | |

p. 308 *haisset Albrecht, der wirt sin lant haben*; 310 *es wirt ain kaiser ufsten, der wirt ainen namen Fridrich han*; 311

da wirt stan ain durrer boum, ist gross und sol sten loublos und blos; 312 es fallent vil mit wassersnot, daz in wirt zusendind ir herr und got.

The other section deals with the fifteen signs which are to precede the end of the world. Here 42 instances occur.

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Pres. I 0% | III 62% 62% |
| Sollen + inf. I 0% | III 3% 3% |
| Wollen + inf. I 3% | 12% 15% |
| Werden + inf. 7% | |
| Werden + adj. 9 1/2% | |
| Werden + perf. part. 5% | |

p. 316 *daz grossu zeichen werdent geschehen*; 317 *gar grülich wind er bringen sol*; 319 *die unmilten und die bösen wil got verweisen.*

When we consider that the number of instances in each is nearly equal, then such a difference can hardly be regarded as accidental. Probably the writer followed his original more closely in the second portion because the fifteen signs had become almost canonical, and not to be changed lightly. Some changes, however, he did make, if we can rely on parallel evidence. This latter is found in Mone, No. 11, there called „Der Jüngste Tag“, a Suabian text of the middle of the fifteenth century. Suabian at this time was well acquainted with the use of *werden* + *infinitive*, as seen for instance in the Zainer Bible of 1473. In spite of this, however, instead of the 3 instances of *werden* + *infinitive* found in the Alemannic version, we find only 1, and that at a place where the other text has the *present tense*. This is l. 131: *so wirt die welt brinnen*. The other differences are:

- l. 110 *so beschent* vs. Sibyl. W. *werden geschehen*.
- l. 133 *furchtent* vs. Sibyl. W. *werdent furchten*.
- l. 151 *müezen schrigen* vs. Sibyl. W. *werdent schrigen*.

From these facts we may assume that the „Vorlage“ of Sibyllen Weissagung probably contained *present tense* forms where we now have *werden* + *infinitive*. On account of the character of this second portion, the writer did not introduce many changes here, while in the historical parts he either had another source or changed the one he had more freely.

On p. 315 we find the following passage: *Er wirt von gottes wegen gesunt und darzu (das) ewig leben*. The bracket apparently is Mone's, who wishes to indicate probably that „das“, although found in the manuscript, should be cut out, leaving a plain *werden + infinitive* construction. Probably he is right, but if we remember that such forms as „*im wirt das ewige leben*“ are very common in the sermons of the thirteenth century, we get another indication of the way in which the *werden + infinitive* construction may arise. This sentence originally may have been „*er wirt von gottes wegen gesunt und im wirt darzu das ewige leben*“.

In Walther's „Twelfth Group“, we find a number of Alsatian texts, of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Cod. pal. vindob. 2769 contains 25 instances.

| | |
|---|---|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 16 ⁰ / ₀ 16 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 8 ⁰ / ₀ III 8 ⁰ / ₀ 16 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 4 ⁰ / ₀ | |
| Werden + pres. part. 44 ⁰ / ₀ | |
| Werden + perf. part. 20 ⁰ / ₀ | |

John 1, 7 *er wirt komen*; Isaiah 60, 2 *si werdent bedeckende*.

Heidelberg Pg. 19 contains 34 instances corresponding, to Latin futures. But of these, 7 instances of *wollen + infinitive* II and 5 of *wollen + infinitive* III (Job 40, 20 and 26), express intention rather than futurity. Disregarding these we have.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 9 ⁰ / ₀ | 9 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 22 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 19 ⁰ / ₀ 41 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 9 ⁰ / ₀ | III 9 ⁰ / ₀ 18 ⁰ / ₀ | |
| Werden + pres. part. 14 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 9 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + inf. 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + adj. 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | |

Gen. 3, 15 *sü würt din houhet ze knystende und du solt ir füßen lagenden*; Job 40, 28 *sin zuversicht würt in betriegen*.

If we assume that the translator understood these doubtful passages as pure futures, the figures are slightly changed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 6 ⁰ / ₀ | 6 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | II 14 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 11 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ 26 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |

Wollen + inf. I $6\frac{0}{0}$ II $20\frac{3}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ III $20\frac{3}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ $47\frac{1}{5}\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + pres. part. $8\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + perf. part. $6\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + inf. $3\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + adj. $3\frac{0}{0}$

The last manuscript of this group, Weimar fol. 9, presents a different usage in the Old Testament sections from that found in the New Testament. The 70 instances of the former are distributed as follows:

Pres. I $0\frac{0}{0}$ II $5\frac{5}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ III $15\frac{5}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ $21\frac{3}{7}\frac{0}{0}$
 Sollen + inf. I $3\frac{0}{0}$ III $17\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ $20\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$
 Wollen + inf. I $7\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ II $13\frac{0}{0}$ III $5\frac{5}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ $25\frac{5}{7}\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + pres. part. $15\frac{5}{7}\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + perf. part. $7\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + inf. $3\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + adj. $7\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$

In the New Testament sections 32 instances occur.

Pres. I $3\frac{0}{0}$ II $6\frac{0}{0}$ III $20\frac{0}{0}$ $29\frac{0}{0}$
 Sollen + inf. I $0\frac{0}{0}$ III $6\frac{0}{0}$ $6\frac{0}{0}$
 Wollen + inf. I $12\frac{0}{0}$ $12\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + inf. $34\frac{0}{0}$
 Werden + perf. part. $16\frac{0}{0}$

The chief differences therefore are in the use of *werden* + *infinitive*, *werden* + *present participle*, and *wollen* + *infinitive* II. The Old Testament would seem to be more closely related to the two preceding texts, Pg. 19 and cod. pal. vind. 2769, while the New Testament seems to reflect a later usage. Possibly another source is to be assumed.

Ecclesiastes 12, 3 nutabunt — *werdent wanckende*; 12, 14 adducet — *wil er füren*. Isaiah 60, 3 ambulabant — *völcker werdent varen*; 60, 4 surgent — *stent uff*; Matt. 1, 21 *siu wirt geberen einen sun und sin name wurt geheissen Ihesus und er wurt behalten* Matt. 23, 39 non videbitis — *ir werdent niht mer sehen bitze ir sprechen werdent*.

A collection of Alemannic fables of the fifteenth century, published Germ. 33, 264, contains 63 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 6 ⁰ / ₀ | 6 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 3 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 3 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 62 ⁰ / ₀ | II 3 ⁰ / ₀ | III 3 ⁰ / ₀ | 68 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 3 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 264, 6, 59 *gern sol ich volgen iuwer lere*; 269, 10, 11 *ich bin ein nun, der müse ich nit mer vachen sol. ich wil allezeit geistlich leben, den müsen wil ich nit mer nach streben*. 271, 12, 66 *was went wir morn thun so der pfaff wirt mit dem krütze gan*. 283, 21, 46 *der wirt leben immer me*.

In a Swiss legend of St. Idda von Toggenburg, Alem. 12, 174 of the same century, there are 5 instances, 1 each of present I, *wollen* + infinitive I, *sollen* + infinitive III, *wollen* + infinitive III, and *werden* + adjective.

p. 175 *der wil mich ouch behalten daz mir kain laid sol geschehen*.

On p: 176 we find a form similar to that cited by Erdmann from Orendel: „für die ist sy bitten got den almächtigen“.

We have another Swiss monument in Mone, No. 16, a „Neujahrsspiel“, of the fifteenth century. It contains 46 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 6 ¹ / ₂ | | III 11 ⁰ / ₀ | 17 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 2 ⁰ / ₀ | 2 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 28 ⁰ / ₀ | II 6 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | 34 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 27 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 9 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

l. 33 *als ir werdent verstaen*; 704 *du nersch, recht wie ein dorect man, die sach went wir in gewinnen an*.

Mone, No 15, a „Passionsspiel“ of the middle of the fifteenth century, is Alemannic, but with traces of Suabian, Rhinefrankish and Alsatian. This mixture is not reflected however in the use of the forms of the future. We find 210 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Pres. I 2 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 4 ² / ₃ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | 7 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 1 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | 2 ¹ / ₂ 0 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 29 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 6 ² / ₃ 0 ⁰ / ₀ | 36 ² / ₃ 0 ⁰ / ₀ |

Werden + inf. 36 0/0

Werden + pres. part. 2 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 7 0/0

Werden + adj. 8 0/0

l. 572 *wird er uns zeteil, wir wen in ruren*; 943 *wir wend uch nit verlan*; 1967 *ich wurt uch nit verlan*. 1828 *einer wirt mich verraten*. 1831 *wer ist der iu verraten sol?* 1636 *nu wirt verraten des menschen kint. wer wirt verraten des menschen kint?* Note the close proximity of the *werden* + *infinitive* and the *werden* + *present participle* forms in ll. 1636—7.

Alem. 16, 44, „Predigtmärlein“ by Johannes Pauli, of the year 1493, contain 20 instances. Contrary to expectations, *werden* + *infinitive* does not occur.

Pres. I 5 0/0

III 10 0/0 15 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 5 0/0

II 10 0/0

15 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 30 0/0

II 10 0/0

III 10 0/0

45 0/0

Werden + adj. 20 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 5 0/0

p. 44 *min herre Jesus Christus hat verhaissen daz er gesporet welle komen und erschinen*; 47 *wie wilt du das verantworten, kumpt das gut in fromder hant*.

Alem. 11, 136 contains a sermon, also attributed to Johannes Pauli, and dating probably also from the year 1493. This, however, does contain instances of *werden* + *infinitive*. There are 9 instances of the future tense: 6 of *wollen* + *infinitive* I, 2 of *werden* + *infinitive*, and 1 of *werden* + *adjective*.

p. 144 *du hast mir wol gedienet, das wil ich dich lassen geniessen und wil dich fry sagen*.

In the „Grablegung Christi“, Mone, No. 14, of the year 1494, we have according to Mone, a Suabian original worked over into a Swiss form. There are 24 instances.

Pres. I 4 0/0

4 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 0 0/0

III 16 2/3 0/0

16 2/3 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 46 0/0

III 8 1/3 0/0

54 1/3 0/0

Werden + inf. 21 0/0

Werden + adj. 4 0/0

1. 42 *ich hoffe er solle mirs nit versagen / er söll mir Jesum laussen vergraben*. 312 *fürwar wirstu sitzen schön*; 75 *alsbald und so ich erste mag, so wil ich kumen*; 61 *so erst und bald ich des verstan, wirstu von mir ein antwort han*.

In the „Irseer Reimkronik“, of the year 1500, Alem. 11, 220, we find 10 instances, 8 of *werden + infinitive*, 2 of *werden + perfect participle*.

1. 415 *was wirt des gotshusz guttäter tun*.

In ll. 173—4 two peculiar forms are found: *do er ver- stund daz er must sterben, das in Maria wer erwerben um zyt- lichs gut, ewigs leben, ain silbrin teopf er uns was geben*.

The condition of affairs in Alemannic texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may perhaps best be summarized in the following table. There are 1226 instances. *Werden + adjective* and *perfect participle*, amounting to 27 0/0, are not given in the table.

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I 3 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | II 2 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III 12 ³ / ₄ 0/0 | 18 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 0/0 | II 1 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | III 5 ² / ₃ 0/0 | 8 ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 20 ⁷ / ₁₀ 0/0 | II 2 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | III 4 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | 27 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 |
| Werden + pres. part. 5 ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + inf. 12 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | | | |

Alemannic peculiarities are therefore 1. The great frequency of *wollen + infinitive*, used in all persons. This is seen up to the last, although in some cases probably due to archaisms of speech.

2. *Sollen + infinitive* never was very common, occurring most frequently in the Alsatian texts which show Middle German traces. It is rarer in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than in the period preceding, and is used most frequently in the third person.

3. The frequency of *werden + present participle*. This may be of some use as a dialectic criterion for the thirteenth century, and for the first half of the fourteenth.

4. The frequency of *werden + infinitive*, from the earliest period on.

5b. Suabian.

Suabian texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are not very numerous.

The earliest one examined is „Bruder David von Augsburg“, Zs. f. d. A. 9, 1, of the second half of the thirteenth century. There are however but 3 instances, 1 each of *sollen* + infinitive III, *wollen* + infinitive II, and *werden* + adjective.

p. 26 *wan in noeten sol man den getruwen frunt kiesen; 8 wie groz diu ere si die du ime hernach wilt geben.*

Grieshaber's Predigten (Stuttgart 1844, 1846), of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, may be considered here, because the great frequency of forms such as gän, stän, points to Suabian influences, the text otherwise showing Alemannic characteristics. There are 529 instances.

| | | | |
|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I $1\frac{7}{8}\frac{0}{0}$ | II $1\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | III $15\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | $18\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $1\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | III $2\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $4\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $13\frac{0}{0}$ | II $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | III $25\frac{7}{10}\frac{0}{0}$ | $39\frac{1}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + inf. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. $20\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $8\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Werden + adj. $8\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Müezen + inf. $\frac{1}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |

Vol. I p. 3 venient — *werdent komende*; 20 *so wirt er in alliu kunftigiu dinch kunde*; 7 *pascam — ich wil furin*; 56 *perspicies — so soltu sehen*; 3 *uñ reht als in der arche waren rainiu und unrainiu tier, als wil och got zû im ziehen die unrehten.*

Vol. II, 26 *pugnabit — wil vekten*; 40 *perdes — wil du ferderben*; 61 *uñ wen doch werden behalten*; 88 *wize dc si hungers wen sterben.*

In the „Kindheit Jesu“, Mone, No. 8, of the fourteenth century, we have a Suabian text which contains traces of what Mone styles a „niedere Mundart“, p. 139. The influence of Middle German would seem to be shown by the usage. There are 86 instances.

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | II $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | III $11\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | $16\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | II $1\frac{0}{0}$ | III $33\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $38\frac{1}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ |

Wollen + inf. I $10\frac{1}{2}\%$ II 1% III $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ 15%
 Werden + inf. $4\frac{1}{2}\%$
 Werden + pres. part. 1%
 Werden + perf. part. 13%
 Werden + adj. 11%

The frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive*, 38% , would seem to indicate Middle German influences.

1. 37 *ain liechter stern sol ufgän uso her Jacob, und sol erstän*; 259 *uso dir der herczog sol varn, der Israhel wil bewarn, und sin volk berichten sol*; 90 *und die Juden umb sin klaid werdend spielend*; 148 *sin lob sy werdend predigen öch*; 96 *er sal uf von den erden erstan und leben werden*.

The „Eleventh Psalter“, cgm 440, of the year 1390, contains 14 instances, 2 each of *present* I and *werden* + *adjective*, 1 of *present* II, and 9 of *present* III. From the preceding texts we know that Suabian was acquainted with the use of *sollen* or *wollen* + *infinitive*, and *werden* + *infinitive* or *present participle*, to express the future. Their absence from the selection in question is perhaps best explained by assuming that this psalter was copied from an older one, which used only the present tense.

A similar state of affairs is found in a fragment of a Suabian Passional published Germ. 20, 444, of the second half of the fourteenth century. Only 2 instances occur, 1 *present tense* II, 1 *present* + *adjective*.

That this was not the normal usage at the end of the fourteenth century, may perhaps be gathered from the condition of affairs in „Das Goldne Spiel“, of Meister Ingold (ed. Schröder 1882). This was written about the year 1405, and contains 31 instances.

Pres. I $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ $6\frac{1}{2}\%$
 Sollen + inf. I 26% II 3% III $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ $35\frac{1}{2}\%$
 Werden + inf. 13%
 Werden + perf. part. 45%

Here however the frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive* is somewhat strange.

83, 4 *hodie eris — hut sollt du sein in dem paradies*; 21, 10 *consilium custodiet et prudentia servabit — rat sol dich behüeten und weishayt sol dich behalten*; 63, 8 *als ich hernach*

wirt sagen; 14, 20 ich schwer es das ich nit tun wil was du mich wirst bitten; 35, 2 ich furcht es wirt anders gan.

The „Historienbibeln“, vols. 100 and 101 of the Stuttg. L. V., are based on a Suabian manuscript of the first half of the fifteenth century. We find here 514 instances.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Pres. I 16 ⁰ / ₀ | II 6 ⁰ / ₀ | III 17 ⁰ / ₀ | 39 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 1 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 1 ⁰ / ₀ | 3 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 27 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 2 ¹ / ₄ ⁰ / ₀ | 29 ³ / ₄ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 4 ⁵ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 13 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 116 *unt wirt got alle welt vertilgen; 136 dabo — das gib ich dir; das wil ich dir geben. 160 mercket er es so wil er wenen ich spotte sin; 362 darnach so wil ich in min hus gan und sol denn essen und soll denn by minem wib schlafen. 167 ich wird mit dir sein.*

In vol. 185 of the Stuttg. L. V., „Volksbücher“, of the fifteenth century, 351 instances of the future tense occur. The usage differs however from that of the „Historienbibeln“.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Pres. I 3 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 8 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 2 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 2 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 4 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 54 ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | III 7 ⁰ / ₀ | 63 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 11 ⁵ / ₇ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 1 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 2 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 8 ⁴ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 20, 20 *das sollt du dinem nefen geben, der sol das ewige leben verdienen und wirt vil der hyeden ertöden. 121, 25 daz man dich bitten wil, das thuo. 140, 31 das will dich got geweren, er wirt zû dir komen. 238, 30 wir wend holczes also vil howen als wir wend, und wend dich grauwen munich darumb niht ansechen noch fürchten. 89, 12 aber ich wil sin gern nit mer huettend.*

The last example would seem to indicate an apparent confusion of the *present participle* with the *infinitive*. In other texts we saw that the *present participle* might lose the „d“ of its ending; here we see an *infinitive* adding a „d“.

In Alem. 18 there is published an Augsburg „Liederbuch“ of the year 1454. This contains 26 instances.

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 8 ⁰ / ₀ | III 4 ⁰ / ₀ | 12 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 16 ⁰ / ₀ | III 12 ⁰ / ₀ | 28 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 16 ⁰ / ₀ | III 16 ⁰ / ₀ | 32 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 12 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 16 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + adj. 4 ⁰ / ₀ | | |

p. 220, 77, 19 *gehorsam ich beleiben sal*; 104, 7, 25 *ich hoffe ich sull dich sechen*; 218, 73, 7 *ich hoff in frewd werds unsz erschinen*.

The manuscript of „Der Jüngste Tag“, Mone, No. 11, probably was written at Rheinau near Schaffhausen, about the year 1467. It is thus almost on the dividing line between Alemannic and Suabian territory. It has traces of an earlier version, of the middle of the fourteenth century, probably from the region of the Middle or Lower Rhine. There are 114 instances.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pres. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | III 26 ⁰ / ₀ | 26 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 2 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 3 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 22 ⁰ / ₀ | III 28 ⁰ / ₀ | 50 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 7 ⁰ / ₀ | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 11 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | |

1. 29 *denn wil got die guten zellen, / er wil si an sin siten stellen, / die sunder mussent von im flichen, / der tuffel wil si in die helle ziehen*. 265 *won Ihesus herab kumt und wil lassen die wunder sechen*; 153 *ein grulich wint wehen sol*; 131 *so wirt denn die werlt brinnen*.

On the basis of the other texts, we should expect to find *werden* + *infinitive* used far more frequently than it is. In the discussion of the texts from the Rhine regions we saw that the construction with *wollen* was getting very common. This would seem to strengthen the theory that we have here the Suabian version of a Middle Rhenish original, with but few changes in the tense forms.

The „Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin“, Augsburg 1470, edited by Haltaus, Quedlinburg 1840, contains 161 instances. The usage approaches that found in the „Historienbibeln“.

| | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| Pres. I 16 ⁰ / ₀ | II 10 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | III 9 ⁰ / ₀ | 35 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 9 ⁰ / ₀ | II 5 ⁰ / ₈ ⁰ / ₀ | III 2 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 12 ¹ / ₈ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 13 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | III 5 ⁰ / ₈ ⁰ / ₀ | 14 ¹ / ₈ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 25 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. 1 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

Vol. I No. 113, 92 *gar schier so werden plüen die plümlein*; 19, 37 *ich pring in wol von hinnen / ich hoff uns sol nyemant sehen / uns wird auch wol gelingen*. 17, 49 *ich wil nach deinem begern dir wesen undertan*.

Germ. I contains a „Spil von St. Georg“, from Augsburg, of about the year 1474. Here we have 74 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--|--|
| Pres. I 9 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II 3 ⁰ / ₀ | III 9 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 22 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 11 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 4 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 15 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 23 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 15 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 40 ⁵ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 5 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Müezen + inf. 1 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 172 a 7 *wer in umb hilf rufet an / den wil sin hilf sein bereit*; 179 a 9 *ich wil euch alle sant bitten das ir mir acht tage wellent geben*. 177 a 29 *es wirt euch an daz leben gan*.

In Stainhöwel's Aesop, 1480, Stuttg. L. V. vol. 117, we find 262 instances. We have here the advantage of a parallel Latin text so that the instances are fairly certain.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Pres. I 13 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | II 6 ¹ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ | III 5 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | 24 ⁵ / ₆ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 1 ⁰ / ₀ | II 1 ⁰ / ₀ | III 3 ⁴ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | 5 ⁴ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 31 ⁰ / ₀ | II 2 ⁰ / ₀ | III 1 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ | 33 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + inf. 28 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 4 ¹ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + adj. 3 ⁴ / ₅ ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Müezen + inf 1 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

p. 113 *latrabo — wil ich bellen, ich würd bellen*; 40 *preveniam — ich wil vorkomen*; 39 *implebimus — werden wir erfüllen*; 214 *satiabor — ich sol gesattet werden*. 215 *comedam —*

ich muoz essen; 314 comedes — *du wellest essen*; 307 recipies — *solt du enphaben*.

Alem. 7 and 8 contain some „Ascetic Tracts“ from Augsburg, of the fifteenth century. They show a decided tendency towards the modern usage. Only 24 instances occur.

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Pres. I 0% | II 4% | 4% |
| Wollen + inf. I 0% | III 8 ¹ / ₃ % | 8 ¹ / ₃ % |
| Werden + inf 54% | | |
| Werden + adj. 16 ² / ₃ % | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 16 ² / ₃ % | | |

Vol. VIII, p. 207 *werlich bringst du grosse frucht und auff die plomen wil der hailig geist rouwen, darnach so wirt es leicht. 211 so muoz ich ein zeüg sin wen er kumen wirt in das dal Josaphat und ain richter und urteiler wöll sin.*

Vol. VIII, p. 110 *do wirt si messen und besitzen.*

None of these texts however, give as true an idea of the tendency of Suabian at the end of the fifteenth century as the Bibles printed by Zainer in the last quarter of the century. The changes there made are all in one direction, showing that the other forms were at that time felt to be obsolescent. This is shown by the following instances, taken at randon.

| Vulgate | Mentel | Zainer 1473 |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Ps. 109, 4 poeniteberis | es reut | wirt rewen |
| 109, 6 judicabit | urteilet | wirt urteylen |
| 109, 6 implebit | erfullt | wirt erfüllen |
| 109, 6 conquassabit | zeknischet | wirt diemutigen |
| 109, 7 bibet | trinckt | wirt trinckē |
| Luke 1, 76 preibis | du geest vor | wirt vorgeen |
| Judges 6, 16 percuties | du slechst | wirt slachen |
| Jerem. 49, 4 inducam | ich zûfür | wil einfurē |
| 53, 6 ascendam | ich staig uf | wirt ufsteigen |

The first person of the future tense very often contains an element of intention, and it is probably owing to this that Zainer made the change to *wollen* in Jerem. 49, 4.

Suabian, it will be seen, has a development similar in many respects to that of Alemannic. There are, however, some characteristic differences. These can be more readily seen if

we collect all the instances in one table. (Grieshaber's Predigten are not included, because they are in a mixed dialect.) There is a total of 1648 instances. In the table *werden* + *adjective* and *werden* + *perfect participle* are omitted.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----|----------------------------|-----|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I | $10\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $5\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $11\frac{2}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | $26\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I | $2\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $3\frac{3}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $3\frac{3}{10}\frac{0}{0}$ | $9\frac{7}{10}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I | $28\frac{3}{4}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $1\frac{1}{10}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $5\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $35\frac{1}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + pres. part. | $\frac{9}{10}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + inf. | $11\frac{1}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |

The usage in Alemannic of the same period is shown by the following table, omitting *werden* + *adjective* and *perfect participle*, as in the preceding table. There are 1226 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----|---------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Pres. I | $3\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $12\frac{3}{4}\frac{0}{0}$ | $18\frac{7}{12}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I | $2\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $1\frac{1}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $5\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $8\frac{13}{15}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I | $20\frac{7}{10}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $2\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $4\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $27\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + pres. part. | $5\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + inf. | $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |

The chief points to note are that Suabian uses the *present tense* and *wollen* + *infinitive* more frequently than Alemannic and that it does not, in the texts examined, use *werden* + *present participle* to the same extent as Alemannic.

THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN EPIC.

The order of treatment is slightly different here. Bavarian is taken up first, because it alone furnishes good opportunity for comparing the Court Epic with the Popular Epic, within the same dialect. Next come the Suabian and Alemannic, then the various Middle German poems, concluding with the Low Frankish.

Bavarian.

In the Nibelungen (ed. Lachmann 1878), we find 207 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|----|---------------------------|-----|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I | $28\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $16\frac{0}{0}$ | $45\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I | $23\frac{0}{0}$ | | | III | $5\frac{0}{0}$ | $28\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I | $14\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $1\frac{0}{0}$ | $15\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + adj. | $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | $7\frac{3}{4}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. | $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |

853, 3 *daz sol ich immer dienen als ich von rehte sol*; 972, 4 *ir welt iuch alle vliessen, welt ir die recken bestan*. 729, 1 *si komen morgen vruo*; 519, 3 *und lat iwer weinen, sie wellen schiere komen*. 1150, 4 *ja wirt ir da diende vil manic man*.

With regard to the manuscripts, A and B almost always agree, as opposed to C. Only once does B agree with C as against A. 339, 2 A *wir suln wol genesen*. B and C *wir mugen wol genesen*.

The variation in C is generally in the use of the *present tense* instead of a paraphrase with *sollen*.

In the *Klage* (Lachmann's edition of the *Nibelungen*) the usage agrees fairly well with that found in the *Nibelungen*. There are 30 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|-----|--------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 23 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | II | 3 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | III | 10 0/0 | 36 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 30 0/0 | | | III | 10 0/0 | 40 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 16 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | 16 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 3 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 3 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |

1. 1099 *ein teil ich iu der nenne*; 187 *der wil ich iu nennen*. 1252 *die beide suln beraten mine vrouwe Herraten*.

Kudrun (ed. Symons 1883) contains 166 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|----|-------|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 26 0/0 | II | 2 0/0 | III | 16 0/0 | 44 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 12 0/0 | | | III | 5 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | 17 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 28 0/0 | | | | | 28 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 3 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 6 0/0 | | | | | |

153, 3 *ich sol in wol erkennen ob in hie zimt diu krone*. 260, 4 *so si wir gekleidet und sulen her zu hove riten*; 251 *so sol man uns baz getrouwen*; 313, 4 *den tuon wir iu bekant*; 84, 1 *daz wil ich iu sagen*.

When we compare *Kudrun* with the *Nibelungen*, we see that the chief differences are in the use of *sollen* and *wollen* + *infinitive*. In the *Nibelungen* *sollen* + *infinitive* I occurs nearly twice as frequently as in *Kudrun*, while *wollen* + *infinitive* I occurs with but half the frequency it attains in *Kudrun*. Otherwise there are no marked differences.

Biterolf und Dietleip (Deutsches Heldenbuch I, ed. Jä-
nicke 1886), Austrian, of the early part of the thirteenth cen-
tury, contains 66 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I $30\frac{1}{3}\%$ | II 3% | III 12% | $45\frac{1}{3}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $19\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | III $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $21\frac{1}{6}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. I 15% | | | 15% |
| Werden + adj. $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $10\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | | |

l. 6518 *nu sol ouch ich die hant min / gerecken hie mit
ritterschaft. / ob nu von aller künene kraft / unserm wirte waere
widerseit / im sol min dienest sin bereit. / ich hilfe im alles des
ich kan.* 6080 *nu sol ich im sinen win / wol gelten und die spise.*
9473 *der uns den schaden hat getan / ich sol in itewizen daz ich. . .*

Alpharts Tot, Bavarian of about the same period, has 34 in-
stances.

| | | | |
|--|----------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. I $8\frac{4}{5}\%$ | II 3% | III $29\frac{1}{2}\%$ | $41\frac{3}{10}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $8\frac{4}{5}\%$ | | | $8\frac{4}{5}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $26\frac{1}{2}\%$ | II 3% | | $29\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Werden + adj. $8\frac{4}{5}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $11\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | | |

155, 2 *wil mir got nu helfen, iuwer turent sige ich an. /
waent ir an mir rechen, sprach der hochgeborn, / des wulfinges
ende und iuwer selbes zorn, / so welt ir semfte küelen iuwer
herzeleit.* 233, 2 *deste gerner wil ich striten mit dir, sprach der
helt. wir sullen uf der heide teilen den solt mit strit. wem es got
gunne, der danne vellet, der lit.*

E. Martin emends 276, 2 so that is reads: *darumb so
werden mych clagen alliu wip.* If correct, this would be the
first instance of *werden* + *infinitive* in the texts so far examined.

Sigenot furnishes but 4 instances, 1 each of *present* I and
wollen + *infinitive* I, 2 of *present* II.

Eckenliet, also of the first half of the thirteenth century,
has 27 instances.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I $29\frac{2}{3}\%$ | II $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ | III 15% | $52\frac{1}{6}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 11% | | III $3\frac{2}{3}\%$ | $14\frac{2}{3}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | | $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ |

Werden + adj. 11 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 15 0/0

90, 5 *swenne ich der vrouwen sagen sol / daz du mir bist entrunden / wer sol dir danne sprechen wol.* 183, 9 *ir bringet mir des phant, / ir müezen beide hangen, / niht lenger ich des fristen sol.*

Wolfdietrich B, Austrian, of the same period, contains 22 instances.

Pres. I 13²/₃ 0/0 II 9 0/0 III 9 0/0 31²/₃ 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 9 0/0 9 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 36 0/0 36 0/0

Werden + adj. 13²/₃ 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 9 0/0

110, 1 *des rats ich wol volgen sol;* 614, 1 *nu sol ich in werfen;* 583, 3 *ich wil messer zuo in werfen.* 158, 2 *so wirt wol verswigen umb des kindelin.*

In Ortnit, also Austro-Bavarian and of about the same time, we find 62 instances.

Pres. I 29 0/0 II 8 0/0 III 6⁴/₉ 0/0 43⁴/₉ 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 4⁴/₅ 0/0 III 1¹/₂ 0/0 6³/₁₀ 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 28 0/0 II 1¹/₂ 0/0 29¹/₂ 0/0

Werden + adj. 16 0/0

Werden + perf. part. 4²/₃ 0/0

382, 3 *man sol iuch also schouwen als man si ligen siht;* 41, 3 *des du ander liute flehest, daz tuon ich ungebeten;* 41, 4 *ich wil dich hohe stiuren swenne du uf dem se wilt treten, ich wil dir zwelf kiele laden.* 558, 4 *du wirst sin wol inne.*

Wolfdietrich A contains 53 instances.

Pres. I 17 0/0 II 5²/₃ 0/0 III 39³/₅ 0/0 62¹/₄ 0/0

Sollen + inf. I 5²/₃ 0/0 III 1⁹/₁₀ 0/0 7¹/₂ 0/0

Wollen + inf. I 15 0/0 15 0/0

Werden + inf. 1⁹/₁₀ 0/0

Werden + adj. 13¹/₅ 0/0

This is the first epic which contains an absolutely certain instance of *werden* + infinitive. 390, 1 *swaz wir zwei klagen solten, daz wirt er eine klagen.* 20, 3 *frouwe, du solt wachen, ich*

sol dir guotiu maere sagen. 31, 2 *ich wil im zem jare eines mannes sterke geben.*

The Dresden Ms., stanza 286 contains the following: *wie pold si ym do rufte, solt yren glouben han, so wūr ynen machmet helfen daz er kōm aus den se.* „*wūr helfen*“ probably is the *werden* + *infinitive* construction with apocope of the „*d*“ in *würd*.

In Dietrichs Flucht there are 86 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 18 ³ / ₅ 0/0 | II | 4 ² / ₃ 0/0 | III | 7 0/0 | 30 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 18 ³ / ₅ 0/0 | | | | | 18 ³ / ₅ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 39 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | | | III | 1 ¹ / ₆ | 40 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 4 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 5 ⁵ / ₆ 0/0 | | | | | |

1. 4566 *nu tuot als ich iu raten sol*; 6050 *ich solz da schaffen ob ich mac.* 3566 *nu wirt iu allererste geseit wie der herre Dietrich verliuset lant und rich. daz wil ich iu wizzen lan.* 718 *nu hoeret waz ich iu sagen sol.* 6416 *nu hoert waz ich iu sagen wil.*

Sol rimes with *wol* ll. 921, 2 and 2083, 4, as second member.

In the Rabenschlacht, probably by the same author, we find 95 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 19 0/0 | II | 10 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III | 12 ² / ₃ 0/0 | 42 ¹ / ₆ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 19 0/0 | II | 1 0/0 | | | 20 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 24 ¹ / ₅ 0/0 | II | 1 0/0 | | | 25 ¹ / ₅ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 3 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 5 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. | 4 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |

25, 2 *vil wol ich daz vernomen han, man muoz dich schiere in Roemisch lande schouwen*; 312, 6 *ich wil gote abe wol getrouwen, ir sult si noch vil lange bouwen.* 572, 1 *als es morgen tagen welle / so sul wir ermriches her / alles haben umberiten.* 474, 3 *hoert waz ich maere sagen sol.* 152, 1 *nu hoeret starkiu maere die ich sagen wil.*

Laurin has 42 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----|------------------------------------|-----|--------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 19 0/0 | II | 16 ² / ₃ 0/0 | III | 14 0/0 | 49 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 14 0/0 | | | | | 14 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 28 0/0 | | | | | 28 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Werden + perf. part. | 7 0/0 | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. | 2 + 0/0 | | | | | |

1. 128 *sin welle den der tiuvel pflegen, / ich muoz in minner machen.* 1435 *fürwar ich daz sprechen wil; 1377 fürwar ich daz sprechen sol, / du sihest den twerc allenwol.*

In Walberan we find 20 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pres. I 30 ⁰ / ₀ | II 5 ⁰ / ₀ | III 20 ⁰ / ₀ | 55 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 5 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 5 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 15 ⁰ / ₀ | | | 15 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 20 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 5 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

1. 640 *din trübsal wil ich wenden; 645 ich wende dir al dine not oder ich lige tot.*

Wolfdietrich C and D contains 90 instances.

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I 17 ⁷ / ₉ 0/0 | II 4 ⁴ / ₉ 0/0 | III 6 ² / ₃ 0/0 | 28 ⁸ / ₉ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 12 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | II 1 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 | III 2 ² / ₉ 0/0 | 15 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 30 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 1 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 | 31 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. 14 ⁴ / ₉ 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 10 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

IV, 23, 2 *ich vah dich balde vaste, sprach der groze man, / an eines boumes aste wil ich dich henken an.* X, 116 *ir sulnt des niht verberen, swenne es muge gesin, ir sulnt mich in dem jare einest hie gesehen.*

In Virginal, the longest of all these poems, there are 135 instances.

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I 20 ⁰ / ₀ | II 9 ² / ₃ 0/0 | III 11 ⁰ / ₀ | 40 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 14 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 2 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | 16 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I 15 ³ / ₄ 0/0 | | III 5 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | 21 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 8 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 13 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | | | |
| Werden + inf. 4 ¹ / ₅ 0/0 | | | |

The solitary instance of *werden + infinitive* occurs in 1090, 9 *Herre Hildebrant sprach morne vruo so werdent den die verren alle sehen komen her.* 79, 7 *unser her bringt iuch in not, ez wil iuch lebens berouben.* (A variant reads here „wirt berouben“.) 165, 2 *manheit starc ein leitestap, züchtec kiüche und reine wil werden min her Dieterich.* 360, 11 *lihte hant si in erslagen, so wil mir trurens wonen bi.*

Cf. also 921, 6 *si wurden an der stunde von aventiure sagen, biz daz man ezzen gienge, do wart ouch der her Wolfhart klagen.*

These poems of the „Heldenbuch“, although by different authors, are yet sufficiently close together as regards time and place to be considered as a unit. They contain a total of 729 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----|---------------------------|-----|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Pres. I | $20\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $7\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $13\frac{4}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | $41\frac{4}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I | $13\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $\frac{2}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $1\frac{0}{0}$ | $14\frac{11}{14}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I | $24\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | $26\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + inf. | $\frac{2}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + adj. or perf. part. | $16\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. | $\frac{5}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |

This as will be seen on comparison, agrees with the condition of affairs found in Kudrun rather than with that of the Nibelungen.

The Court Epic is represented by „Diu Crone“, ed. Scholl L. V. Stuttg. XXVIII. This poem, written about 1215—20, contains 85 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----|---------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Pres. I | $10\frac{3}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $8\frac{1}{4}\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $10\frac{3}{5}\frac{0}{0}$ | $29\frac{9}{20}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I | $36\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | III | $2\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $38\frac{5}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I | $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + adj. | $7\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | $15\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | $2\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |
| Werden + inf. | $1\frac{1}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | | | |

l. 18323 *so min schilt und min sper / wirt suochen daz velt / ich geswache etlich gezelt.* 17922 *und vuert eines grifen kla. / wirt er suochende die sla / so ist min wan niht betrogen.* 15762 *nu sol ich iu tuon kunt;* 15849 *nu wil ich iuch bescheiden.*

The instance of *werden* + infinitive (l. 18323) is very early for the Court Epic.

Wolfram von Eschenbachs poems may also be treated here, although they show the traces of the Frankish-Bavarian origin of the poet. Lachmanns edition (1891) was used.

Parzival contains 96 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|----|----------------|-----|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I | $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | II | $3\frac{0}{0}$ | III | $8\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $23\frac{5}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I | $33\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | III | $5\frac{0}{0}$ | $38\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ |

Wollen + inf. I $9\frac{2}{5}\%$

$9\frac{2}{5}\%$

Werden + adj. $9\frac{2}{5}\%$

Werden + perf. part. $18\frac{4}{5}\%$

65, 1 *ist er gezimieret hie / avoy so sal man schouwen. . .*
146, 15 *sage Artuse und den sinen / ine süle niht flühtec erscheinen*
/ ich wil hie gerne beiten / swaz zer tjost sich sol bereiten. 56, 1
wil er wider wenden, / schiere sol ichz enden.

Willehalm has a somewhat similar usage. We find 51 instances.

Pres. I 18%

II 4%

III 10%

32%

Sollen + inf. I 16%

III 8%

24%

Wollen + inf. I 14%

14%

Werden + adj. 10%

Werden + perf. part. 18%

Müezen + inf. 2%

417, 12 *des rates ich dir volgen muoz.* 123, 22 *si vrageten*
wes habt ir gedaht / uns sol der man entriten, welt ir mit im
niht striten / wan lat irn uns doch furbaz jagen. 272, 22 *mir*
sol freude oder ungemach vil schiere geschehen.

Titurel contains but 7 instances.

Pres. I $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

III $28\frac{4}{7}\%$

$42\frac{6}{7}\%$

Sollen + inf. I $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

$14\frac{2}{7}\%$

Wollen + inf. I 0%

III $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

$14\frac{2}{7}\%$

Werden + adj. $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

Werden + perf. part. $14\frac{2}{7}\%$

32, 4 *ich sol ir lobes sagen mere.* 135, 2 *sit in den witen*
wald niht mohte gekeren das wilt, wan her fur den talfin, das
wil sin arbeit gemeren.

Meier Helmbrecht (ed. Keinz 1887), while not a court epic,
may also be considered here. It contains 31 instances.

Pres. I $48\frac{2}{5}\%$

II $6\frac{2}{5}\%$

III $6\frac{2}{5}\%$

$61\frac{1}{5}\%$

Sollen + inf. I $9\frac{2}{3}\%$

III $9\frac{2}{3}\%$

$19\frac{1}{3}\%$

Wollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{5}\%$

$3\frac{1}{5}\%$

Werden + adj. $3\frac{1}{5}\%$

Werden + perf. part. $12\frac{9}{10}\%$

266 *ich sol ouch uf dinen wagen nimmere mist gewazzen.*
278 *ich hilfe dir nimmere bouwen;* 1866 *waere er noch dri*
stunt also blint, ich sol in hāhen an den ast.

In the „Vrouwen Dienest“ of Ulrich von Lichtenstein (ed. Lachmann 1841) we find 52 instances. According to Ulrich himself it was finished about 1255.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| Pres. I $32\frac{2}{3}\%$ | II 2% | III 2% | $36\frac{2}{3}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 29% | | III 6% | 35% |
| Wollen + inf. I $9\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | | $9\frac{2}{3}\%$ |
| Werden + adj. $9\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $9\frac{2}{3}\%$ | | | |

31, 8 *Liet unde brief send ich ir dar / und wil ir endelichen gar / enbieten swes du hast verjehen.* 143, 21 *ich mein die werden vrouwen min / der ritter ich sol immer sin.* 480, 5 *si sprach so sol die vrowe min / iu alle hohe dankent sin, / si sol ze lon in machen. . .*

Comparing the poems treated so far we find that they fall into two groups, exemplified by „Diu Crone“ and „Biterolf und Dietleip“, while the Nibelungen, Klage and Kudrun represent the intervening stages. The first group embraces the Vrouwen Dienest, Crone, Parzival and Willehalm. In it futurity is expressed primarily by *sollen + infinitive*. Next in point of frequency stands the *present tense*, and last *wollen + infinitive*, the latter being used only for the first person. In the Popular Epics contained in the „Heldenbuch“, the first place is taken by *wollen + infinitive*; then comes the *present tense* for all persons, last *sollen + infinitive*, also used principally in the first person. The Nibelungen and Klage resemble the Court Epic in the frequency of *sollen + infinitive*, but use *wollen + infinitive* oftener. Kudrun resembles the Popular Epic more closely.

Suabian.

Alemannic.

Although Hartmann has of late again been claimed for Alemannia, he is probably a Suabian. In Erec, his first epic (ed. M. Haupt 1871) we find 39 instances.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Pres. I 23% | II 5% | III $15\frac{2}{5}\%$ | $43\frac{2}{5}\%$ |
| Sollen + inf. I 28% | | III $12\frac{4}{5}\%$ | $40\frac{4}{5}\%$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ | | | $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ |
| Werden + adj. $12\frac{4}{5}\%$ | | | |

l. 129 *ich ensterbe in kurzer frist so sol ichz versuochen*;
805 *ich bin noch vil unverzaget / iwer sorge sol sich enden*.
1356 *ich sol mit im vil gerne sin*.

Sol rimes with *wol* in ll. 264—5, 2018—9, 3792—3, 3938—9, 5368—9, 8096—7.

Iwein (ed. Henrici, Halle 1891) has 42 instances. This, as Hartmann's most finished work, affords a good basis for comparison.

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Pres. I $14\frac{2}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | II $4\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | III $4\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $23\frac{13}{21}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $38\frac{0}{0}$ | | III $7\frac{1}{1}\frac{0}{0}$ | $45\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $9\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | III $2\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $11\frac{5}{6}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + adj. $7\frac{1}{7}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part $9\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Müezen + inf. $2\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |

2167 *si sint des vil vro daz si der lantwer also über werden müezen*. 1901 *ichn müeze mit einem andern man mins herren wandel han, sone wil es diu werlt so niht verstan*. 484 *swer mich niene tuot, der sol ouch mich ze vriunde han*. 4227 *swenne ich mich erloset han, so sol ich mich selben slan*.

When we compare the two poems, we find that in Iwein the *present tense*, especially in the first and third persons, is not used so frequently as in Erec, while *sollen + infinitive* I is used much oftener. *Wollen + infinitive* I is also more frequent in Iwein than in Erec.

Gregorius (ed. Bech 1867), contains 16 instances.

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I $50\frac{0}{0}$ | II $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | $62\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + adj. $12\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ | | |

l. 1356 *ob ich ez an dir vinde / des wil ich immer wesen vro*. 2125 *diu verstuont sich siner klage wol, / als ich in nu sagen sol*.

Armer Heinrich (ed. Haupt 1881) has 30 instances.

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pres. I $26\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | II $16\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | III $20\frac{0}{0}$ | $63\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Sollen + inf. I $16\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | III $16\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | $23\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Wollen + inf. I $3\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | $3\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ |
| Werden + adj. $6\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. $3\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ | | | |

1. 813 *ich sol von minen schulden uz iuvern hulden niemer komen, wil es got.* 676 *wem solt ich der genaden jehen / me dan iu zwein nach gote, / des ich nach iuwer gebote / iemer sol vil gerne stan.* 913 *daz erzeigest du an mir wol / als es dir got vergelten sol.*

The first „Büchlein“ contains 33 instances.

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Pres. I 36 ¹ / ₃ % | II 12 ⁰ / ₀ | III 21 ¹ / ₅ % | 69 ⁸ / ₁₅ % |
| Sollen + inf. I 0 ⁰ / ₀ | | III 12 ⁰ / ₀ | 12 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 6 ⁰ / ₀ | II 6 ⁰ / ₀ | | 12 ⁰ / ₀ |
| Werden + adj. 6 ⁰ / ₀ | | | |

1. 522 „*sit du ez gesprochen hast / du wellest dich an mir rechnen / und ein mezzel in mich stechen*“. These instances of *wollen* + infinitive II are the oratio obliqua forms for the *present tense*, ll. 68 seq.

1. 1154 *vil quote wandelunge / han ich von dir vernomen, / daz sol dir ze heile komen. / wizze daz dir wol geschiht.* 1248 *den wandel ich ze quote, / daz ist daz dich noch helfen sol.*

In Gottfried von Strassburgs *Tristan* (ed. Bechstein 1890) we find 59 instances.

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Pres. I 6 ⁴ / ₅ % | III 5 ⁰ / ₀ | 11 ⁴ / ₅ % |
| Sollen + inf. I 37 ¹ / ₃ % | III 8 ¹ / ₂ % | 45 ⁵ / ₆ % |
| Wollen + inf. I 12 ⁰ / ₀ | III 1 ³ / ₅ % | 13 ³ / ₅ % |
| Werden + pres. part. 8 ¹ / ₂ % | | |
| Werden + adj. 13 ¹ / ₂ % | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 6 ⁴ / ₅ % | | |

9440 *Driakel nam diu wise do, und flozte im der also vil in biz daz er switzen began. Er wil genesen, sprach si, der man.* 15949 *Entriuwen, herre, sprach Gilan, / ich gibe iu gerne swaz ich han.* 15958 *Entriuwen, herre, ich sol iu geben swes ir gemuotet.* 3984 *swie mich der küene varnde siht, / er wirt mich gerne sehende / und werde ich im verjehende / umbe sinen neven,* 8706 *man wirt uns schiere komende an.* 14129 *und werdent mir gebende die schulde.* 17863 *die huote fuoret unde birt / da man si fuorende wirt.*

Gottfried has a liking for the *present participle* in other constructions as well, compare ll. 4116, 4227, 4841, 5511—2, 8837, 11131, 18838, 19244.

Flecks Flore und Blanscheffur, ed. by Golther, D. N. L. 43, furnishes 18 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 22 ² / ₉ 0/0 | II | 16 ² / ₃ 0/0 | III | 11 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 | 50 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 5 ⁵ / ₉ 0/0 | | | | | 5 ⁵ / ₉ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 11 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 | | | | | 11 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 16 ² / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + inf. | 11 ¹ / ₉ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | 5 ⁵ / ₉ 0/0 | | | | | |

l. 4724 *er wirt iuch deste getriuwer, furdernde an iuvern ernen.* 4656 *so wirt er sprechen zehant.* 3608 *es ist min friunt der beste / der wirt iuch wol enthalten.*

„Der Gute Gerhard“, of Rudolf von Ems, ed. M. Haupt 1840, has 11 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 36 ⁴ / ₁₁ 0/0 | | | | | 36 ⁴ / ₁₁ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 27 ³ / ₁₁ | | III | 18 ² / ₁₁ 0/0 | | 45 ⁵ / ₁₁ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 18 ² / ₁₁ 0/0 | | | | | |

l. 29 (A) *so wirt er witen maere, sin getat wirt lobebaere;* 613 *ez ervert ein bote wol / den ich drumbe senden sol.*

The instances of *sollen* + *infinitive* are all in rime position. Cf. also ll. 2389, 3235, 6497, 6771.

Konrad von Würzburgs Trojanischer Krieg (ed. Keller, L. V. Stuttg. 44) contains 238 cases of the future tense.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 15 0/0 | II | 1 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | III | 6 ³ / ₄ 0/0 | 23 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 19 0/0 | II | 2 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | III | 7 0/0 | 28 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 |
| Wollen + inf. I | 1 ³ / ₅ 0/0 | | | | | 1 ³ / ₅ 0/0 |
| Werden + inf. | ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + pres. part. | 6 ¹ / ₃ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part. | 34 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + adj. | 5 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | | | | | |
| Müezen + inf. I | ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 | | | | | |

l. 4570 *diu vrouwe sol gewinnen / ein kint daz lop und ere birt, / wan si noch hinaht swanger wirt / und einen sun wirt tragende / der hohen pris bejagende muoz werden.* 12442 *ir werdent schouwen ane trüge / swenn ir ze Troye wellent varn;* 13533 *er wirt uns komende balde;* 13466 *ich wil nach im von hinnen / keren in Thessaliam. / von sinem meister lobesam / sol ich in füeren tougen.* 18214 *ez wirt iu kosten iuwer leben.*

18910 *du solt nach diner girde / da vinden ein erwünschet leben. / Helene diu wirt dir gegeben.* 22558 *und hiez dem kunige Priamo diu maere kunden unde sagen / daz er waere bi den tagen / mit eren kumen in daz lant.*

„*Waere kumen*“ of the last citation, from the context, is future tense; in form however it seems to be a pluperfect.

Otte mit dem Barte (ed. Hahn Qued. Leipz. 1838) has but 12 instances, 3 each of *present* I and *sollen* + *infinitive* III, and 2 each of *present* II, *sollen* + *infinitive* I and *werden* + *adjective*.

1. 500 *min helfe sol ze rehte not / in bereit mit willen sin.*
192 *iu sol min keiserlich gewalt / erzeiget werden sere.*

Three instances of *sol* rime with *wol*.

Peter von Stauffenberg, (ed. Schröder, Berlin 1894) of the beginning of the fourteenth century, contains 7 instances, 2 of *sollen* + *infinitive* I, 4 of *wollen* + *infinitive* I, and 1 of *werden* + *infinitive*.

1. 731 *man wirt dich anekeren vil; 856 der künig sprach, ich inich helfen sol.*

If we now compare the works of Hartmann with those known to be Alemannic, we see one striking difference. Hartmann nowhere uses *werden* + *present participle* or *werden* + *infinitive*. In all the other poems, with the exception of „Der Gute Gerhard,“ and „Otte mit dem Barte“, which together contain only 23 instances, we find either one or both of these constructions. In the discussion of the Alemannic dialect, it was said, p. 65, that the frequency of *werden* + *present participle* was a dialectic peculiarity of Alemannic. It would appear therefore that Hartmann's works should not be classed with the Alemannic.

Middle German.

East Frankish.

Wirnt von Gravenberg's Wigalois (ed. Benecke 1819), written about 1204, has 49 instances.

| | | | |
|--|----------|--|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I 32 ² / ₃ 0/0 | II 8 0/0 | III 6 0/0 | 46 ² / ₃ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I 6 0/0 | | III 14 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | 20 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 |

Wollen + inf. I $4\frac{0}{0}$

$4\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + perf. part. $2\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + adj. $27\frac{0}{0}$

l. 1446 *Ez hat der kunech von Engellant / einen turnei wider in genomen / dar sulent im die riter komen / ze karidol fur sin hus. / da sol der kunech Artus / wol dri tusent riter haben.* 7705 *ouch sol ich mich nicht sumen me / ich werde din geselle.*

Hessian.

Herbort von Fritzlar's Liet von Troye (ed. Frommann, Quedl. Leipz. 1837) written about 1210, contains 63 instances.

Pres. I $27\frac{0}{0}$

II $11\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$

III $14\frac{2}{7}\frac{0}{0}$

$42\frac{11}{14}\frac{0}{0}$

Sollen + inf. I $19\frac{0}{0}$

II $3\frac{0}{0}$

III $11\frac{1}{9}\frac{0}{0}$

$33\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + adj. $11\frac{1}{9}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + perf. part. $12\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

l. 2766 *wir sullen beschouwen in vil kurzen jaren daz iz* 3719 *wollen si elenā widergeben / so sullen wir mit gnadē lebē.* 3831 *des wirt diz lant noch verheret, / wir bringē hie schilde un swert, / ez sol noch also geschehē, / ir sult hie ritterschaft noch sehē.* 9679 *swa mine bruder sullen wesen, / da wil ich mit in genesen.*

Sol rimes with *wol* 3 times, with *zol* once.

The „Erlösung“ (ed. Bartsch, Quedl. Leipz. 1858), of probably the second half of the thirteenth century, is also Hessian, possibly by the same author who later wrote „Elsebede“. In it there are 231 instances.

Pres. I $4\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

II $11\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

III $19\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

$25\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

Sollen + inf. I $4\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

II $6\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$

III $47\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

$58\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$

Wollen + inf. I $9\frac{1}{10}\frac{0}{0}$

$9\frac{1}{10}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + adj. $7\frac{4}{5}\frac{0}{0}$

Werden + perf. part. $7\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{0}$

l. 306 *din konne wehset danne / uber alle creature ho. / mins rates saltu wesen fro.* 1306 *ein sterre uz Jacob sol mit schine uzgan, / in Israhel sol ein mensche erstan / der die fursten twingen sal.* 4859 *so saltu ewiglich genesen. / nu hort waz ich uch sagen sal.* 4989 *nu hort waz ich uch sagen wil*

(: vil). 5211 *exurgam diluculo / des morgens fru wil ich erstan.*
2606 *du solt emphahen und gebern / ein kint, des saltu maget*
genesen. / Jesus sol sin name wesen.

„Elsebede“ (ed. Rieger, L. V. Stuttg. 90), written about 1297, furnishes 21 instances.

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| Pres. I 9 ⁰ / ₁₀ | III 9 ⁰ / ₁₀ | 18 ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 29 ⁰ / ₁₀ | III 29 ⁰ / ₁₀ | 58 ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₁₀ | | 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Werden + adj. 14 ⁰ / ₁₀ | | |
| Werden + perf. part. 4 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₁₀ | | |

1. 276 *Ez sol min frouwe Gerdrut / noch hint in dirre*
naht gelin, / ein here dochter si gebirt. 284 *man doufet si*
Elizabet / si sal gar dugentliche leben, / zu lande wirt si her
gegeben. 565 *wil unser herre daz ich leben / ich sal in noch vil*
dicke geben.

South Rhinefrankish.

Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal (ed. Rosenhagen 1894), furnishes 13 instances.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Pres. I 38 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₁₀ | II 15 ¹ / ₃ ⁰ / ₁₀ | III 7 ³ / ₄ ⁰ / ₁₀ | 61 ⁷ / ₁₂ ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 30 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₁₀ | | | 30 ² / ₃ ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 7 ³ / ₄ | | | 7 ³ / ₄ ⁰ / ₁₀ |

1. 1412 *got minnet so sere rehtiu werk / daz ir gewis*
muget wesen / wir soln wol vor in genesen. 2324 *ez si verre*
oder bi, / swem ir da nach hat gejaget / ich sol iu helfen
unverzaget.

Moriz von Craon (ed. Schröder, Zwei Altd Deutsche Rittermaere, Berlin 1894), also of the early part of the thirteenth century, contains 25 instances.

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Pres. I 24 ⁰ / ₁₀ | II 4 ⁰ / ₁₀ | III 20 ⁰ / ₁₀ | 48 ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Sollen + inf. I 8 ⁰ / ₁₀ | | III 4 ⁰ / ₁₀ | 12 ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Wollen + inf. I 32 ⁰ / ₁₀ | | | 32 ⁰ / ₁₀ |
| Werden + adj. 8 ⁰ / ₁₀ | | | |

1. 1280 *nu waer ich mit im nicht wol bewart, / daz tuon*
ich vil wol vervarn / nu sol ich mich baz bewarn. 1315 *swenne*
die werlt mit disem schaden / von iuvern schulden ist geladen, /
ditz ist uns wiben ein misseval, / daz sich ein man nicht lazen
sal / an unser keine nimmer me.

Middle Rhine.

Zs. f. d. A. 32, 202 contains a fragment of a „Mittelrheinische Hofdichtung“, of the end of the thirteenth century which furnishes 14 instances, of which 4 are *present* III, 2 are *sollen* + *infinitive* I, and 8 *sollen* + *infinitive* III.

1 b 22 *des sal eyn volge geleiden*. 2 a 26 *in iwer henden sal mâ sehen rosen das swert*. 1 b 39 *wir ensol ê ouch nit miden; / hantwerg und bliden / solen wir dar fûren*.

Low Frankish.

In Veldeke's „Eneide“, ed. Behaghel, Heilbron 1882, there are 80 instances.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 6 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | II | 2 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | III | 2 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 | 11 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 6 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | II | 6 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | III | 65 0/0 | 77 ¹ / ₂ 0/0 |
| Werden + adj. | 5 0/0 | | | | | |
| Werden + perf. part | 6 ¹ / ₄ 0/0 | | | | | |

1. 2590 *als dir vore gesaget es / also sal et dir ergan. / swat dir en deil es gedan / des enwert dir niet benomen / du salt dar vel wale komen*. 2602 *niet entwivete dus / du salt si vinden / si sal sich din onderwinden / end sal dich beleiden*. 3180 *iedoch mestrote dich niecht / ich sal dich geleiden / und vele wale bereiden*.

Servatius (ed. Piper, D. N. L. vol. 4) contains 21 instances.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Pres. I | 0 0/0 | II | 4 ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 | 4 ⁴ / ₅ 0/0 |
| Sollen + inf. I | 38 0/0 | II | 19 0/0 | III 38 0/0 95 0/0 |

1. 225 *dat si hadde ein dochter end einen son, / van den sal ich te weten doen*. 238 *van den soln wir seggen nu*. 1790 *du salt werden gevangen / van den Hunen den bosen / got sal dich verlosen*.

Summary.

From the foregoing account of the epic poems, it will be seen that they differ from each other in the periphrases of the future tense. Bavarian poems, just like the Bavarian texts treated in the first part of this monograph, show no form peculiar to that dialect, although differences exist between the Popular and the Court Epic.

The Alemannic poems, in their turn, contain instances of the use of *werden* + *present participle* or *infinitive*, which was also a characteristic of the Alemannic texts in the first part.

The various Middle German poems show the characteristic frequency of *sollen* + *infinitive*, while the Low Frankish used that form almost exclusively.

It would appear therefore that the dialects left some traces in the works of these poets, even where they tried to follow in the footsteps of such masters as Hartmann and Gottfried.

II. ORIGIN OF THE VARIOUS FORMS.

The use of the *present tense* to express futurity is found in Gothic, and continues down to the present day. Any person of the present may be used in this way. The logic of this procedure is that the present time is supposed to continue, that is extend into the future. Very often the verb is accompanied by an adverb of time, such as bald etc., but this is not necessary. For instance, in Goethe's *Erkönig*, l. 10 *Gar schöne Spiele spiel ich* 20 *Meine Töchter führen die nächtlichen Reihn, / und wiegen und tanzen und singen dich ein.*

Sollen + *infinitive*, as Grimm points out, is the oldest of the periphrases, occurring also in Gothic. It owes its use as an auxiliary to express the future to its meaning of duty or obligation, but not exactly as Erdmann puts it, § 142: „da der Deutsche gewöhnt war, seine Schuldigkeit zu erfüllen, so ergab sich futurische Bedeutung“. If this were so, then the Middle Germans and the Dutch must have excelled all the others. The explanation is this, if one admits the duty and obligation of on action, one associates with it the idea of performing it.

The question which first comes up is whether there is in Middle High German any tendency toward the usage of English at the present day, which is set down in grammars as „I shall, you will, he will“. In the Dutch texts, where *sollen* + *infinitive* is the usual periphrasis, *wollen* + *infinitive* is almost unknown. In the Low German monuments the first person is represented chiefly by *wollen* + *infinitive*, the second is not sharply defined, now using one, now the other form, the third uses all three constructions, that is *present tense*, *sollen* or *wollen* + *infinitive*. In the Middle German texts,

wollen + infinitive is found almost entirely in the first person, but even here it is outnumbered by each of the other two forms, while in the second and third persons practically only *sollen + infinitive* or the *present tense* is found. In Bavarian, *wollen + infinitive* is more numerous, occurring usually in the first and third persons, while the second person is represented by the *present tense* or *sollen + infinitive*. In the earlier period of Alemannic, the conditions are similar to those in Bavarian. Later on, *wollen + infinitive* was used in all three persons. The same is true for Suabian. We may therefore summarize as follows: The first person may be rendered by all three forms. The third person also may use all three, but *wollen + infinitive* is rarer than the other two. The second person of the verb, however, if the *present tense* is not used, is expressed by *sollen + infinitive*, except in Alemannic and Suabian.

Wollen + infinitive to express the future, occurs in Otfrid, according to Grimm, who cites the lines, I, 1, 113 and I, 3, 45, *willih gezellen*. Erdmann, § 142, gives the explanation of the usage, the idea that one wants to do anything being accompanied by the idea of accomplishment, that is futurity.

Werden + present participle gets its idea of futurity both from the participle and from the inchoative force of *werden*. The form is of interest dialectically, and also as a possible source of the modern form with the infinitive.

The most interesting question is the origin of the construction *werden + infinitive*. The views of Grimm, Weinhold and Erdmann are given in the introduction. None of these are entirely satisfactory. Where would the three instances of the two Mss. of Notker have their origin? It seems preferable therefore to explain it as a form arising from a number of influences. These are:

1. The *present passive* which by its frequency gave *werden* the force of a quasi-future auxiliary.

2. *Werden + adjective or noun*; here also *werden* acts as an auxiliary of the future; and in addition, many ambiguous examples occur, which by their very ambiguity would assist in the rise of the modern form.

3. *Werden* + *present participle*, which by dropping its „d“ would produce the form. The objection to this supposition is that this construction does not occur very frequently in the period preceding the rise of *werden* + *infinitive*.

In Middle High German we find three constructions with the present participle: *ist gebende, wirt gebende, wart gebende*. One of the chief reasons for deriving the future force of *werden* + *infinitive* from the inchoative force of *werden* is the occurrence of such forms as Virginal 921, 8 *do wart er klagen*. Orendel 561 *du bist dich ruomen*. In these forms the *present participle* apparently is displaced by the *infinitive*. It is difficult to explain the instances in Notker in any other way, since no examples of *werden* + *present participle* are found, while *werden* + *adjective* or *perfect participle* does occur, where *werden* is the only part of the periphrasis which expresses futurity.

Müezen + *infinitive* expresses the necessity of an event, which will occur in the future, thus getting an idea of futurity.

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I take this opportunity of expressing my hearty thanks to all my instructors for their ever-ready help and counsel, and especially to Prof. Wood and Dr. Vos.

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